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MAN-POWER IN CHINA II *

Availability of the Labor Supply

THERE has been a common misconception that China, because of the low standard of living, had no serious unemployment problem. The theory was that the people were willing to work at any sort of task for the lowest kind of pay and were, therefore, absorbed in some sort of occupation. The misconception has grown because China's unemployment is not concentrated and does not manifest itself, as it does under an industrial economy, in long lines of men and women asking for relief. Because the national economy is primarily agricultural, unemployment is spread out over the entire country; and because of the household system in industry and the family system in agriculture, it is not self-evident; but China has an appalling amount of unemployment and underemployment. The very fact that people do work for what amounts to a bare subsistence, that slavery and contract labor continue, that emigration is imperative and that there are bandit hordes and agricultural unrest, are evidences of the colossal proportions of the problem. The industrial unemployment that has come with the world depression is only a small part of that problem, although it has become very acute with the closing of silk filatures, cotton factories and flour mills in China and the return of hundreds of thousands of overseas Chinese from the mines and plantations of Malaya, Netherlands India, and Indo-China.

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With an almost inexhaustible supply of unemployed and underemployed labor in the country, it would seem that modern industry had only to open its doors and there would be a rich abundance of labor waiting to rush in. The problem of directing labor into new channels is not so simple. Industrial employment in the past has been on a small scale and on a very personal basis. The cities were mainly commercial centers or centers of government and there had been no large concentration of industrial labor in those centers. If a master craftsman desired new workers, he himself would go into the country districts to secure them, or he would send an agent to famine areas to interview the families and secure apprentices from personal contacts. The numbers that any one employer sought were small, governed by the size of his household. With modern industry has come a demand for workers, not in twos and threes, nor even in tens, but in hundreds and thousands. The concept of employment methods had to be changed, not only because the excess farm labor had to be directed into new channels in large numbers, but also because female labor was being sought by industry for the first time. The personal element could not be dispensed with, but the individual employer could not depend upon his own individual contacts to supply the labor necessary in large-scale operations. Workers, even those in desperate need of employment, were loath to leave the certainty of the farm and of the family for the unknown in a distant city, unless the employing agent were in some way known to them—of the same village or the next village, or a relative of someone they knew. So it has come about that modern industry employs contractors and recruiting agents who work through country districts, where they are known. The necessity of the personal relation is probably the reason for so many sub-contractors. One man through his own acquaintance cannot assemble thousands of workers and so he uses the offices of another, who may in turn use other sub-contractors. Contractors have assembled emigrant groups to work in the mines and on the plantations of the South Seas. Contractors supply the labor for railroad construction, for the big mines and iron plants, for loading and unloading cargo, for any large-scale operation.

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The Recruiting System

A cotton mill in Shanghai in need of several hundred girl operatives does not secure them by posting a notice in the near-by towns and villages. It sends recruiting agents into the North of the River area to make personal contacts with the girls' parents, to explain the high character of the firm that wants the labor and to give assurances, sometimes in the form of a down payment, that here is an opportunity to get employment. The agent promises to take the girl to the city, pay her expenses, secure her a job and for a definite period to feed, clothe and shelter her, if she in turn will sign a contract for three to five years and turn over her wages to him during that period. There is some sort of understanding, especially if he has made no advances to the family, that at the end of the contract, the girl will receive some part of her earnings. It may be ten, thirty, forty or perhaps as much as one hundred dollars. Workers in Shanghai cotton mills say that this bonus is the only money that is paid by the agent and that it is not necessary for the recruiters to pay the family of the girl to induce them to let her go, that they are only too glad to have her find employment. But the agents claim that it is sometimes necessary to make an advance to the families.

With the contract signed, the girl goes to the city and lives with ten or twenty, or as many as thirty other girls, similarly recruited, in a boarding house maintained by the recruiter, or contractor. The boarding houses are wretched, and the girls are crowded into one or two rooms, often sleeping on the floor, and are made to do the household work besides their twelve hours a day at the mill. They are kept under close surveillance by the contractor and it is difficult for social workers to make any contacts with them. When the new recruit goes to the factory, she is untrained in the work and her earnings do not cover the cost of her keep, but after a few months when she has learned the work, her wages exceed what the recruiter pays for food and clothing, and he begins to profit by the contract. The girls receive their wages directly from the mill, but under their contracts, they must turn over the full amount to the contractor. The system amounts to temporary slavery. At

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the time of the Japanese invasion of Shanghai, contractors were discovered among the refugees at relief stations keeping together the girls whom they had recruited but who had been driven by the war from their boarding houses. With the return of peace, they would set up another boarding house and place the girls again in mills where labor was needed. If a girl breaks her contract, the family may be held responsible for her traveling expenses and costs incurred by the contractor. Contractors and mill foremen have a working arrangement for blacklisting runaway girls, which keeps them very much in the power of their contractors.

The system of recruiting varies, of course. The factory may send its own agents into the country and pay the recruiter so much per head for the girls, who then go into a mill dormitory and are directly employed by the mill with no further obligations to the recruiter. Or the recruiter may operate on his own responsibility depending upon the demand in the labor market to absorb his recruits. In that case, the contract that the girl signs provides that she will work in any factory the recruiter may designate, that she will receive her full earnings from the mill, but that she will live and eat in places provided by the contractor and will pay his price for her food, shelter and clothing. The profit for the contractor under this arrangement comes in the difference between what he charges and what it costs him to keep the girl. In the first months of learning the work, her earnings are not enough to meet his price and she gets in debt to him. Thereafter she is as much enslaved as if she did not have the disposal of her own wages. Chinese as well as foreign mills use the contractor system to secure labor. Shanghai, more than other cities, is building an industrial city population divorced from the land, but even there recruiting of country labor is still very necessary for large-scale operations.

Labor Contractors

The operation of mines along modern lines requires tens of thousands of workers. Such large numbers are not generally available in the immediate neighborhood of the mines, and the mine operators have turned to contractors to furnish the neces-

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sary numbers. At the Kailan coal mines there are some 40,000 workers, 25,000 of whom are contractors' men. The system has developed with many abuses and is the source of numerous labor disputes. The Kailan officials would like to be rid of the contractor, now that the pioneer stage is past and a labor supply assured, but the hold of the contractor, especially because it is personal, is strong and his elimination will take time. Torgasheff tells of a young Chinese mining engineer who wanted to do away with contractors and employ his labor direct. He attempted to do it soon after he took control of the mine, but the power of the contractors over their men was too strong. He could not secure a force of independent workers and had to go back to the old system.[36]

At the Fushun mine in Manchuria contractors were used to bring in immigrant miners by the thousands. The Japanese administration built a city with housing for workers and thus created a permanent labor force for the mines, so that in recent years they have been able to eliminate contractors from the actual mining operations. But the administration continues to use them for the work of making passages to the coal. That particular work requires a flexible force that can expand and contract according to the circumstances of the work and it is, therefore, to the company's advantage to use contractors. Through the contractor the administration avoids all responsibility to the labor thus employed. The work is let to the contractor, the administration is concerned only with results. At Penhsihu, also in Manchuria, the mining is done by contractors who undertake to mine certain sections at so much a ton. The actual miners are paid by them at a lower rate. The operation of most of the mines in China proper is on this system. It has been estimated that 70 per cent[37] of the workers in Chinese mines are contractors' men.

Flour mills use contractors to supply the coolies required for all outside work in handling the wheat and flour. Rice mills use them the same way. Limestone is quarried for cement mills by the contract system. The making of tins for cigarette

[36] Boris P. Torgasheff, *Mining in China*, p. 58.

[37] Torgasheff, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

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factories is done by contractors. Most loading and unloading and coolie transport is undertaken by contractors. Contractors control the employment of carpenters, painters and builders in the large cities. Wherever large numbers are needed or when the amount of labor required expands and contracts irregularly, as in loading and unloading cargo or in building, the contractor supplies the labor force and directs it. By this system the manufacturer, shipper, mine operator or merchant shifts on to the contractor all responsibility for labor conditions, for permanence of employment, for housing, for hiring and firing. There is no direct contact between the actual employer and the men who do the work. The contractor undertakes the work at so much per ton, or so much per job, and he determines what part of that rate shall be the worker's.

The contractor exists because he supplies the machinery for bringing together labor and the opportunities for employment, and because he takes the responsibility for handling and paying the men. For foreign firms the contractor has been almost indispensable. The foreigner's unfamiliarity with the language and with the psychology of the workers has made necessary some such intermediary. Contractors supply servants to foreign hotels, the tea boys on foreign river steamers, the coolies on foreign wharfs, the workers in foreign factories. The contractor has many sources of labor and many contacts for employment. He knows the shipping firms, the merchants and manufacturers and when they will have work to be done. He can supply them with any number of men on short notice. Through him the worker is shifted from job to job with a minimum of loss. Instead of tramping from mill to mill or wharf to wharf in search of work, the coolie knows from the contractor what work is available.

From the viewpoint of management, the contractor system is convenient, but from the viewpoint of labor, it is parasitic, especially when a chain of sub-contractors multiplies the deductions from the worker's earnings. Part of those deductions is a legitimate charge for personnel management, and under a plan of direct employment, the worker would not receive the total piece rate now paid the contractor. Something would be

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held back to pay the costs of assembling and directing the force, but the contractor system has become abusive. The generally accepted fee is 10 per cent of the worker's earnings, but frequently the contractor, and especially if there are sub-contractors, exacts more. According to a study made by the *People's Tribune*,[88] the contractor's toll on the worker's earnings is 70 to 80 per cent of the tonnage charge paid by firms in Shanghai for loading and unloading cargo. The Hankow Wharf Coolies' Union estimates the contractor's share of the total tonnage charges at from 13 to 50 per cent. The Kailan Mining Administration has found it necessary to fix a minimum wage which the contractors must pay the men, thus protecting them from unfair exploitation.

Another feature of the contractor system is similar to practices among recruiting agents for Shanghai mills. The contractor undertakes to board and lodge his men at a charge that will bring him additional profit. He also advances money on the wages he owes them and charges heavy rates of interest. In his debt the men are bound and are unable to get from under his control. The contractor serves a purpose, but most certainly he could be replaced by a system less open to petty graft and less costly to the worker.

Scarcity of Skilled Labor

Modern industry in China has not only had the problem of directing labor into new channels, but it also has not had a supply of skilled labor to draw upon. Labor has been abundant but unskilled. In the early days of modern industry, the government and also private entrepreneurs brought in foreign technicians to train labor for the first mills. A petition to Li Hung-chang from a local official concerning the first cotton factory in China, plans for which were drawn in 1878, states:

> Foreign workmen of renown have already been looked out. Any quantity of them can be obtained amongst English merchants. Contracts have been entered into with foreigners for the services of five men to teach the different processes to Chinese workmen, and the foreigners are to be subject to a fine if, within

[88] *North China Herald*, Shanghai, November 29, 1933.

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three years, the Chinese are not thoroughly practiced in and conversant with the art of weaving.[39]

Foreign experts continue to be brought in to start new industries, and in some of the old industries they are still in demand. Although there have been cotton spinning mills in China for nearly fifty years, the China Printing and Finishing Company, a British concern in Shanghai, as recently as July 1934, imported a group of Lancashire operatives to teach fine spinning and weaving to their Chinese workers.[40]

Scarcity of skilled labor is characteristic of a nation that is young industrially. Since the first generation of skilled workmen were trained for modern industry by foreign experts there has been labor pirating by new mills in order to secure a nucleus of skill to start operations. Tientsin cotton mills drew on Shanghai mills for their first quota of skilled workers. Shansi mills sent to the coastal cities for skilled labor. The cotton mill at Chengchow (Honan) drew the necessary skill from established centers. Flour mill mechanics in Shantung, Hopei and Shansi are almost universally men trained in the mills of Kiangsu Province, and their traveling expenses back and forth to their homes in Kiangsu must be paid by the mills in addition to a month's vacation with pay each year, to induce them to go to these mills. Silk filatures notoriously pirate skilled workers from more modern establishments. Foreign mine operators and foreign manufacturers complain bitterly that they train men to become mechanics only to lose them to Chinese firms who lure them away with higher pay.

There is no reliable census of the industrial population in China, but it is known that the number of workers in modern industry, skilled and unskilled, is not large. The Ministry of Industries' survey of workers in industrial establishments employing thirty or more operatives covered twenty-nine cities and totaled 1,204,314 workers in 1930. But this survey did not include Manchuria and omitted important cities like Tientsin, Tsinan, Chefoo, Changsha and many lesser centers in the interior where scattered factories have penetrated. It also

[39] *Ibid.*, February 21, 1879. [40] *Ibid.*, July 25, 1934.

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omitted the 200,000 to 300,000 miners, and the tens of thousands of seamen and railway employees. Including these omissions, the total is still not large as compared with Japan's 4,860,000 work people in factories and mines and the 13 or 14 million in the factories and mines of the United States.

It is surprising, especially in view of the huge reservoir of man-power, that a larger and more permanent industrial labor supply has not arisen in response to the demands of modern industry. There is still in industry a large labor turnover and a serious problem of absenteeism. The workers are transient, migratory, their roots are still in the soil. The busy farming seasons call them back to the farm. They regard factories and mines as subsidiary occupations. They are not regimented and disciplined to modern industry.

Labor Turnover

A large labor turnover is also not expected where the struggle for existence is so severe, but the cause is apparent and evolutionary. It is again the problem of directing large quantities of labor into new channels. Under the old handicraft household system, the journeymen and apprentices made their homes with the master. The arrangement was essentially temporary and the idea was that eventually apprentice and journeyman would become masters on their own and with their own households. In the transition workshops, the numbers are larger but the practice is the same. Shelves are built around the workshop where the worker keeps his bedroll in the daytime and sleeps at night; or he may make his bed on the floor beside his loom or work bench. The female workers are not lodged by the master and only those are employed who can live at home. While there is much less assurance that the workers in these shops will eventually be independent, there is still the temporary aspect of the employment especially where a large percentage of the force is apprentice labor. There is always the thought that this work is preparatory rather than permanent.

With modern industry workers have been drafted by the hundreds and thousands, uprooted from their farms, recruited

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in famine areas. There is no promise of independence in the work. It is undertaken to relieve an immediate situation and very largely without thought of future possibilities. The girl expects to earn enough to return to the farm and marry. The boy or man accepts the present opportunity to make a living. Psychologically there is a temporary aspect to the work.

Housing as a Factor in Labor Turnover

Mill owners have failed to realize the importance of creating a permanent industrial population that would put down its roots and procreate a mill population. To an amazing extent housing has been provided for the workers by the management, but it has taken the form of dormitories, not family dwellings. Often these dormitories are excellent one-story buildings, clean and with simple accommodations, but one room will house seven to twenty men, or as many girls. Flour mills generally have dormitories for the skilled male force; match factories quarter only the permanent force of men and boys; certain potteries have built dormitories for men; certain silk filatures have built dormitories for girls. Cotton spinning mills often have male and female dormitories. The pioneer soda ash plant at Tangku (Hopei) has model housing facilities for single workers and only a few family dwellings. The contractor system further emphasizes the housing of workers as single individuals in dormitories, rather than as families. It is essentially temporary housing as far as the worker is concerned.

Very few developments of family housing have been undertaken for workers in modern industry. Some of the cotton mills in Shanghai have built family houses with glass windows and electric lights which they rent to a fraction of the labor force. But the rentals, though low, are too high for one family and as a consequence, there is unhealthy overcrowding, with two, three and four families sharing a one-family dwelling in circumstances that do not encourage family life. Some families find shelter in squatters' huts of mud and straw which they build for themselves on empty lots and river banks until a municipal clean-up campaign hauls them down, but the bulk of the labor force in modern industry is segregated by sex.

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Some of the larger mining corporations have built whole towns with family dwellings in order to create a permanent working force. At the Kailan mines, it is said, before the company built homes for the workers, the labor turnover was tremendous. When workers were needed they were easily recruited from Shantung, but at the Chinese New Year they returned home and remained there through the busy farming season. Such great numbers migrated back and forth that the monthly output of the mines would be reduced, at times, by more than 30 per cent. Since the family dwellings were put up by the company twelve or thirteen years ago, the seasonal variations in output have practically disappeared. Japanese experience at Anshan in Manchuria has been similar. Until the company built the workers' town, iron production fluctuated with labor migration to and from Shantung.

In Shanghai, in spite of the modern aspects of the city, housing conditions are very wretched. Thousands of houses built according to the Municipal Council's requirements and intended for one middle-class family—two-story buildings twelve feet wide and fifty feet deep, originally having four rooms, a drying stage and a courtyard—have been converted, by adding partitions and lofts, into living accommodations for as many as twenty-three persons! A family of three occupies a room eight by ten feet in size; a family of five has more spacious quarters in a room ten feet square. The rents for these rooms vary from $4.00 a month for one of the lofts to $7.00 or $9.00 for an inner room and $13.00 for a front room on the second floor. Electricity and the water tap in the courtyard are the only modern conveniences. There is no sewage, and sanitary and bathing arrangements in such crowded conditions are unpleasantly public. These are the conditions under which the lower middle classes—petty shopkeepers and clerks—live. Coolies and factory workers, according to the Land Commissioner for the Shanghai Municipal Council, live under "infinitely worse conditions, sleeping in lofts in day and night shifts."[41] A study of one hundred laboring families made by Fang Fu-an in Shanghai, 1930, revealed that most of these families lived

[41] *North China Herald*, May 16, 1934, "Shanghai's Housing Conditions".

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in one-room quarters with as many as five persons in the family.[42] Lamson's study of the Yantzepoo District in 1929-1930 described workers' houses of bamboo and reed with tile roofs and occasional wooden floors where the rooms were dark and poorly ventilated and the lack of sanitary arrangements was a serious disease hazard.[43]

Few Chinese mill owners appreciate the direct connection between absenteeism and unhealthy sewage, between inadequate sleeping quarters and inefficiency. Almost every mill and workshop has some scheme to promote regular attendance and cut down absenteeism. In many establishments a bonus of two days' pay a month is given for perfect attendance and a similar fine for unexcused absence. Special inducements have to be made to hold the working force together over Chinese New Year and the native festivals. These methods have a certain effectiveness, but they do not touch the root cause of the trouble, which is housing.

There has been little done by municipal governments to provide model housing for workers, and those developments that have occurred have been quickly overcrowded by the pressure upon the available housing and by the great and widespread poverty that necessitates overcrowding and the sharing of rents. A municipal model settlement for rickshaw pullers prohibits more than six persons to one room. Commercial housing organizations have little interest in workers' dwellings because the workers' earnings are too small to permit them to pay a profitable rental except by overcrowding, which is bad for the property as a long-time investment. Rentals generally paid by factory workers average about 50 cents to $1.00 (Chinese) per month per worker. A few social organizations have opened small model villages, and while their work is good and the operatives who live in them are most fortunate, they do not begin to attack the problem. The wretched housing conditions of the mass of Chinese workers are a menace to public health and a real burden on industry.

[42] *Chinese Economic Journal*, August 1930, "Shanghai Labor", by Fang Fu-an.

[43] *Ibid.*, August 1932, "The Problem of Housing for Workers in China", by H. D. Lamson.

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Hours

Long hours of labor are another drain on efficiency that is not fully appreciated in the present organization of Chinese industry. They are part, also, of the cheapness of labor. If in addition to low wages, especially wages on a time basis, the hours are long, there is a direct relation between long hours and cheapness. The Nanking Government has recently taken a very interesting stand with regard to the hours of labor, which reflects the transition stage through which Chinese industry is passing. The factory law which was promulgated in December 1929, but which has not been enforced, adopted the principle of the eight-hour day for adult factory workers and permitted extension to ten hours where local conditions warranted. Since then the Nanking authorities have had a decided change of heart. During the year 1934, General Chiang Kai-shek has issued several orders [44] in which he states that the ten-hour day and not the eight-hour day should be the schedule observed for adult factory workers. He reasons that the eight-hour day is rather for countries grappling with the problems of overproduction than for China in her present backward state of underproduction. The feeling among employers in China is that cheap labor is an asset with which China can compete with the West, and that the international regulations, especially with respect to hours, are less a matter of social conscience among Western nations than a matter of commercial competition. While a number of modern factories in Shanghai and other cities do observe the eight-hour day, for all practical purposes General Chiang's orders were quite unnecessary. The eight-hour day in Chinese factories is the exception and the ten and twelve-hour day more generally the rule.

Handicraft and transition workshops generally work from daylight to dark; and since the advent of the kerosene lamp and the electric light, they often work into the night until nine, ten or eleven o'clock. The working day is not standard. It may be ten, twelve, fourteen, or even eighteen hours. The working week is seven days. In some of the larger transition shops, there may be two or four rest days a month, but gen-

[44] *North China Herald*, May 2, 1934; September 19, 1934.

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erally there are no rest days. The working week is, therefore, seventy, eighty-four, or even ninety hours including time taken for one or two meals a day. The working hours in factories are much more definite than in workshops. Specific rest periods are observed and night work is regarded as overtime. In industries where the machinery operates continuously twenty-four hours in the day, the working force is divided into two and occasionally three shifts. Cotton spinning mills operate in two shifts of eleven or twelve hours each, including the rest periods which vary from one-half hour to two hours per shift. Some flour mills operate in three shifts of eight hours each. Match factories work only one shift of ten to twelve hours. Other factories follow similar practices according to whether the operation is continuous or not. Nearly all factories observe some rest days. The most usual practice is two days a month, though some plants have three and some have four. The work week in factories ranges from forty-eight to eighty-four hours, but for most factory workers it is sixty to seventy-five hours. Compared with the trend toward the thirty and thirty-five-hour week in America, the hours of labor in China are long.

There is a modifying factor, however, in that discipline is not rigid and that work is not as sustained as it is in the West. In the workshops there are practically no efficiency standards and the workers are not time-conscious. They relax when they please, stop to smoke, or talk, or drink a cup of tea, leave the shop to see some commotion in the street. There is no particular end to the working day and if they are working on a piece rate, there is always the night in which they can finish their quota or earn a little extra. In factories the work is more sustained because of the inflexible demands of power machinery, but the psychology of the workshop carries into the factory to a remarkable degree. There is a disregard for time and for the demands of the machine that definitely belongs to the era before mass production. Employers claim that twelve hours of attendance in the factory mean actually only six or eight hours of work from the operative. For that reason they say, with the present psychology of the workers, hours must

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be longer and the labor force much larger than is required under Western standards of discipline and efficiency. The long working day is a function of cheapness, but its cheapness is very substantially modified by lowered efficiency. In the final analysis, the low wage is a more important factor in explaining the cheapness of Chinese labor.

Wages

The level of wages in industry is influenced and depressed by farm wages and the wage standards of the multitudinous unskilled class—the coolies, contractors' men, women and children piece workers—and by the subsistence wage of apprenticeship. These are the gateways through which labor enters modern industry. Coolie labor is uncertain and the income irregular. When there is work, the coolies may earn from 50 cents to $1.00 (Chinese) a day, but there is no certainty of income, and daily earnings probably do not average more than 40 or 50 cents. The earnings of piece workers are also uncertain and irregular. There is no basic subsistence payment. The women and children fluctuate in numbers according to the work to be done and are paid only for their output. In the author's survey of twelve match factories covering 6,104 workers, the vast majority of whom were women and children piece workers, the average earnings of the women and children ranged between 10 and 50 cents (Chinese) a day, for the days worked. Usual earnings were between 20 and 30 cents a day, the children averaging less than the adults. In sixteen establishments in other industries, mainly textiles, the average earnings of the 1402 women and children piece workers on unskilled work were about the same as in the match factories, the range being from 12 to 60 cents (Chinese) a day per worker.

Apprentice Compensation

Apprentice labor is on a subsistence basis, not a money wage. It is assured of food and lodging, but any additional compensation depends on the master's generosity and the customs of the guild. There is generally some money payment each year, if only a few dollars for spending money at festival times. In

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cotton weaving establishments the usual money compensation is $10.00 (Chinese) the first year, $20.00 the second year, and $30.00 the third year, or less than 10 cents a day. In some shops, the first year's payment is only $8.00, the second year's $10.00, and the third year's $20.00 to $30.00. Some masters allow the boys a dollar a month for the three years; some have no definite allowance; some make no money payments at all; and some pay as much as $40.00 and $50.00 for the last year of the apprenticeship. The size and frequency of the money compensation seem to be almost entirely an individual matter. For most apprentices, it is not enough to meet the cost of another person's food. Some masters, it has already been pointed out, do pay wages to their apprentices as soon as they have learned the trade, especially in transition shops where apprenticeship does not have the same significance it has in the handicrafts. In general, the apprentice serves his full term before he makes a definite money wage. His keep plus the money allowances amount to about the same level of compensation as the earnings of the women and children piece workers just discussed. But there is one important distinction—the apprentice is assured of board and lodging for the term of his contract, three or five or seven years. The piece workers are assured of nothing. Child labor, piece workers, apprentice labor, coolies, form the lower strata of the working population. They are self-supporting or partially so, but their earnings are rarely above a bare subsistence level.

Adult Wages

The level of factory wages is not much higher. Periodic wage surveys, such as those published by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, do not exist for China, or any part of China. The Shanghai Municipality Bureau of Social Affairs has made the first attempt of any governmental body to conduct careful statistical surveys into the earnings and hours of factory workers. The first of these surveys was made in 1928, a second followed in 1929,[45] but the survey for 1930 was held up by the Shanghai disaster of 1932, and subsequent surveys have not

[45] Shanghai, Bureau of Social Affairs, *Wages and Hours of Labor, Greater Shanghai, 1929*, p. 135.

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appeared. From the 1929 survey, which has been frequently quoted above, it is possible to get some idea of the general level of wage rates in factory industries in Shanghai. For adult male workers the usual wage in most industries was between 50 and 80 cents (Chinese) a day. The range was from 47 cents in the bleaching and dyeing industries to $1.26 in silk weaving. It is perhaps a commentary on the lack of mechanical skill and the undeveloped state of China's industries that average wage rates in silk weaving should exceed those in foundries and machine shops. Silk weaving in America is regarded as a relatively unskilled, poorly paid occupation and wages in 1932 averaged less than $3.00 (U. S.) a day; while in foundries, mechanical skill is very important, and daily earnings averaged around $6.00 (U. S.).[46] Wages of female labor in Shanghai factories, in 1929, ranged from 24 cents to 89 cents (Chinese) a day, and for child labor, ranged from 20 to 42 cents a day. A survey of Wusih industries,[47] conducted in 1929, gives the general range of wages for male, female and child labor, in that city, on a somewhat lower level than in Shanghai.

A survey covering, by the sample method, workshops as well as factories in a wide range of industries in the central and northern provinces of China was published by the Ministry of Industries for 1932.[48] Monthly wages for adult males, in this survey, ranged from $9.50 in soap making, to $30.84 in coal mines, though the latter appears to be high compared with the wages of coal miners cited in a study published by the *Chinese Economic Bulletin* in 1934,[49] and also with the records of the author's own investigation. According to the Ministry of Industries, a monthly wage of between $25.00 and $30.00 (Chinese), or somewhere around a dollar a day, was the usual wage for adult male workers in printing, brush making, tobacco

[46] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Bulletins nos. 568* and *570*.

[47] "An Investigation of Wusih Industries" (written in Chinese) by Chang Tsung Pi, in the *Statistical Monthly*, vol. II, no. 2, June 1930, pp. 56-71, published by the Bureau of Statistics, Legislative Yuan, Nanking.

[48] *The Industrial Statistics*, Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Industries, Nanking, vol. II, no. 2, April 1934.

[49] *Chinese Economic Bulletin*, vol. XXV, no. 9, September 1, 1934, pp. 145-148.

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manufacture, silk and flannel weaving, electric and water works, machine shops, metal working and electrical goods establishments. In twenty-eight of the sixty-one industries covered, the adult male wage was between $10.00 and $15.00 (Chinese) a month. For female workers the monthly wage in most of the industries where females were listed was also between $10.00 and $15.00, and for child workers the general level was lower than for females. These monthly wages in Chinese currency are suggestive of weekly wages in American currency. The average earnings of adult male workers in a good many American industries in 1931 and 1932 were more than $15.00 (U. S.) per week, and of female workers more than $10.00 (U. S.). It is not made clear in the notes accompanying this national survey what, if any, provision was made for computing the money equivalent of board and lodging where they are provided free to the workers, in addition to their money wage. The wage cited is said to be the median of wages in each of the industries covered.

Another governmental wage survey covers workers on government railways and was made by the Ministry of Railways in 1930. In this study 88 per cent of the 99,754 railway workers had earnings of less than $1.00 (Chinese) a day, and 76 per cent averaged less than 75 cents.[50]

A summary of the author's wage data (Table I) indicates a similar range of daily and monthly wages. This summary covers establishments in thirty-four centers stretching from Harbin in Manchuria to Canton in South China. Two hundred and eighty-two industrial establishments from small handicraft workshops to large modern factories were visited, and of this number, wage data are here presented for one hundred and sixty-eight establishments employing 72,936 workers. Besides the actual establishments visited, another one hundred and seventy-nine interviews were held with local officials of Chambers of Commerce and trade associations, with bankers, merchants, government officials, Kuomintang leaders, labor leaders, scholars and industrialists, and these interviews served as a check on the representative character of the data collected. It is rather dangerous to draw up a wage table for the whole of

[50] *Chinese Economic Journal*, vol. XIV, no. 2, February 1934.

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TABLE I

THE USUAL RANGE OF ADULT WAGES IN CERTAIN CHINESE INDUSTRIES, 1931-32 [51]

Chinese Dollars

Industry	Number of Estabs.	Total Workers	Usual Wage [52] (Money Equivalent) per day	Sex of Workers
Cotton Spinning ..	16	44,146	$0.50 to $0.60	male and female
Cotton Weaving [53]	39		0.50 to 0.80	male and female
Knitting	9	2,464	0.65 to 1.00	male and female
Silk Filatures	4	1,400	0.40 to 0.70	female
Silk Weaving	10	945	0.70 to 1.00	male and female
Rug Weaving	28	5,170	0.44 to 0.67	male
Engineering	6	2,170	0.55 to 2.00	male
Iron Works	4	4,560	0.55 to 2.00	male
Rice Mills	2	150	0.70 to 1.00 [54]	male
Egg Produce	2	650	0.70 to 0.90	male
Rubber Goods	2	860	0.78 to 0.93	female
			1.55 to 1.75	male
Firecracker	2	450	0.60 to 0.90	male
Flashlight	2	320	0.23 to 0.35	female
			0.78 to 1.16	male
			per month	
Flour Mills	13	1,925	$20.00 to $40.00	male
Match Factories ..	12	6,104	11.00 to 22.00	male
Oil Mills	8	1,210	18.00 to 30.00	male
Leather	4	177	16.00 to 31.00	male
Dyeing	5	235	10.00 to 30.00	male
Total	168	72,936		

[51] Data were obtained by the author from establishments located in thirty-four cities and towns from Harbin, Manchuria to Canton, South China.

[52] The usual wage (money equivalent) is the usual money wage plus an allowance of 22 cents (Chinese) a day for board and lodging, or $6.00 a month for food and 50 cents a month for lodging, where either or both were provided without cost to the worker. This allowance for food and lodging was obtained from the estimates of thirty different employers, in various industries and various parts of the country and representing 27,000 workers. The range of estimates was from $3.00 to $9.00 a month for food, and from 50 cents to $1.00 a month for housing one worker, but the most usual estimate was 22 cents a day. When specific costs were given, however, they were used. The table does not cover apprenticed labor unless it received a regular wage similar to other workers. In Harbin and Canton the local currency was at a heavy discount with other Chinese dollars at the time of this investigation. Wages quoted in these currencies were, therefore, converted into Shanghai dollars in order to make comparison with other centers more accurate.

[53] Nine of these mills are also spinning mills in which data were not secured separately on numbers of workers.

[54] Machine men only.

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China from such a small sample, but it is believed that for the industries listed the data are fairly typical and indicate the general level of Chinese wage standards in those industries. A great many important industries and kinds of occupation are not included because of the limitations of a private investigation. Where the data obtained were too widely apart to be significant, because of the smallness of the sample, the industry has not been included in the table. The wage cited is the usual wage, not an average, and includes an allowance for board and lodging where both or either are provided to the worker without cost. It does not include extra payments of bonuses or overtime pay and does not cover apprenticed labor or casual piece workers. It is the money equivalent of the ordinary compensation of permanent workers, whether male or female. Due to the complex character of Chinese currency and the inflationary practices of local governments, the Chinese dollar does not have the same value in all communities. When wages were originally quoted in depreciated currencies, or in coppers, they have been converted to a basis comparable with other Chinese dollars.

Many of the data collected could not be tabulated because conditions in small establishments were not standard. In an establishment using apprentice labor and only a few journeymen, the wage of the journeymen may be too high or too low to be generally representative. Some handicraft establishments in the carving of jade or ivory do only the most skilled carving, some do only the least skilled. Wages in individual establishments are, therefore, not comparable. Piece work and time work are often incomparable. On a time basis, the worker has assurance of employment and may, therefore, receive a lower daily rate than a piece worker whose employment is irregular. The wage scales of directly employed workers and of contractors' labor may not be comparable. Sometimes, the distinction is a matter of skill; sometimes, it is because of the introduction of machinery; sometimes, because of the regularity of employment, and where the sample is small, these variables assume a disproportionate importance.

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It seems evident from this survey and from those official studies already quoted, that a very large part of the factory population earns in the wage range of 50 cents to $1.00 (Chinese) a day, and less.

Factory Wages

It has often been asserted that factory industry has raised, or will raise, the standard of living for Chinese workers. Official data are not available for a comparison of wage rates in handicraft households, transition workshops, and factories to support or deny this assertion. In few industries are all three stages of industrial organization extant. Many of the factory industries in China were introduced into the country in their present form and have had no evolutionary stages there. Many of the old handicrafts are still in the household stage, or they have failed to hold their own against the competition of cheap machine-made goods and are now only part-time by-occupations in the homes. The old metal crafts, copper, brass, and pewter smiths, have changed their industrial organization very little in many centuries; but cotton spinning has become almost entirely a factory industry. What little hand spinning remains is now only a domestic by-occupation of the very young and very old. In cotton weaving, however, there is every stage of development from the primitive hand-shuttle, narrow-width, wooden looms, in the homes, to the most modern automatic power-looms, in factories. From the author's personal investigations, it has been possible to make a comparison of the customary wages in four different types of weaving establishments. Table II makes this comparison. It covers thirty-nine establishments with a total of 31,266 workers, and five localities in which there were thousands of home weavers. The wages cited include an allowance for food and lodging where they are provided without cost to the worker. The data are more suggestive than satisfactorily adequate.

In this comparison, factory wages appear to be more standardized than the others and somewhat lower than in transition workshops. But factory wages include both male and female weavers, and the presence of female labor tends to lower the general level. In handicraft and transition shops, the weavers

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TABLE II

A COMPARISON OF WAGES IN THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF COTTON WEAVING ESTABLISHMENTS, 1932 [55]

Usual Daily Wage in Chinese Dollars

Factories [56]		Transition Workshops [57]		Handicraft Households [58]		Home Weavers [59]	
Number of Estabs.	Usual Daily Wage	Number of Estabs.	Usual Daily Wage	Number of Estabs.	Usual Daily Wage	Number of Families	Usual Daily Earnings Per Loom
1	$1.00	1	$2.54	1	$1.16	1000	$.40 to $.60
1	.83	1	1.57	1	$.63 to $.73	11	.45 to .60
1	$.73 to $.78	1	1.10	1	.57	600	.20
6	.63 to .73	1	$.95 to $1.43	3	.30 to .45	100	.20 to .30
1	.49	1	.80 to .96			7	.20 to .30
1	.40	1	.75 to 1.43				
1	$.40 to $.80	4	.70 to 1.23				
		1	.63 to 1.23				
		4	.50 to .63				
		3	.40 to .50				
		2	.30 to .40				

are almost universally male. Also, most factory weaving is with power-looms and on plain cloth. Weaving in transition and handicraft shops includes all classes—narrow "t'u pu" or native cloth using hand-spun yarn, figured weaves requiring considerable skill and two workers per loom, and modern mixtures of rayon and cotton in plain and fancy weaves. The operations are not strictly comparable in these different classes,

[55] Data obtained from personal investigations of the author. Wages represent range of most usual daily wages paid in each establishment.

[56] Data cover thirteen factories with 29,321 workers. This number includes also some spinning operatives, but the wages are quoted for weaving operatives only.

[57] Data cover twenty establishments with 1,744 workers. Wages are for journeymen, only, and include allowance for food and lodging if provided without cost to worker.

[58] Data cover six establishments with 201 workers. Wages are for journeymen, only, and include allowance for food and lodging.

[59] Data cover weavers in the neighborhoods of Kaoyang (Hopei), Fenchow (Shansi), Tsinan (Shantung), and Hsuchow (Kiangsu), in the order named. Earnings are per loom and may represent the work of several members of the family.

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and it is difficult to determine whether a weaver is better off or worse off in a factory or workshop. For the trained weaver, it would seem that the factory does not offer any particular advantage.

If the factory has raised Chinese living standards, it has done so for unskilled, unemployed or underemployed farm labor and for female labor, rather than for trained craftsmen. For these classes, it has created new jobs and has added to their earning capacities. In order to determine wherein the factory has raised the standard of living in China, a comparison of farm labor and factory labor would be more revealing. Some measure of the difference is suggested in the comparative earnings of home weavers. The earnings are per loom and not per weaver and may represent the work of several members of the family with long hours of operation.

In transition and handicraft workshops, the most skilled jobs are often done by the owner or someone in his family. In the factory the most skilled jobs are open to the workmen and may, therefore, be said to enlarge the opportunities of all wage workers. Factory industries like cigarette manufacture, flour milling, cement, matches, and the preservation of eggs have introduced new occupations and trained a new class of skill. For the groups concerned, greater opportunities have been created.

Supplementary Payments

For certain classes of labor, therefore, the factory has raised the standard of living, but it has brought no greater security nor more assurance of employment. The old economy had developed a number of safeguards which gave a measure of security which has not carried over to the factory. There were no legalized, old-age pensions, accident compensation, sickness, death or unemployment insurance schemes, but there were certain fundamental obligations which were generally acknowledged. Foremost among these, was the provision of board and lodging every day in the year, regardless of holiday or short idle periods. Handicraft and transition workshops, very frequently, not only board their workers over holidays or idle periods, but also pay the full money wage for the time covered, whether the workers are on a time wage or a piece rate

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basis. If the money wage is not paid, at least the board and lodging are provided, or enough money for food for the idle period. Many establishments give full pay during a month's holiday at New Year; others allow two weeks or ten days with full pay for the permanent male force. In seasonal industries, the worker is not maintained throughout the year, but he is provided with traveling expenses to and from his home.

Factories, wherever possible, have eliminated the subsistence payments. Only those factories where the permanent force is small, or that are located away from supplies of skilled labor, continue the custom. In Shanghai it is generally not necessary and therefore not generally practiced. The factory worker is paid only a money wage, and it is his own responsibility to provide food, if not lodging. Of ninety-eight factories personally investigated, thirty-two provided food and lodging to the permanent force, in addition to the money wage; thirty-four provided free lodging to at least part of the force; and thirty-two provided neither food nor lodging, or if dining halls and dormitories were maintained, the workers were charged for their use.

As the transition shop approaches the factory in size and organization, the practice of providing food and lodging is modified. Of fifty-five transition shops visited, forty-two provided food and lodging free to the permanent male force and apprentices; nine gave free lodging; and four did not provide any living arrangements. The women and child workers and coolies are never housed or fed in transition shops. In handicraft households, the old custom still prevails. Of thirty-seven handicraft shops visited, practically all maintained the journeymen and apprentices on the premises. In one case, the entire village worked at the industry (paper making), and the workers lived at their own homes. In two other cases, the industry was seasonal, and the journeymen were under contract for the season, with only lodging provided in addition to their money wage. The subsistence fare provided in workshops and factories is generally very poor, and the security thus given is not an unmixed blessing. It places the worker completely at the mercy of the individual master. If the master is benevo-

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lent, the system is bearable. If the master is harsh, it may become slavery.

There are other obligations on the part of the old-time Chinese employer. In a workshop or commercial establishment, a worker may not be dismissed with impunity, except on certain days of the year, known as dismissal days, when contracts and agreements are renewed. It is also a common practice to pay dismissal allowances, and this is a principle that factory labor is fighting to establish in modern industry. There is a recognized obligation to make death payments, though the sum is often small; and most employers, even contractors, will provide a coffin and pay the cost of shipping the body home. Certain guilds have set up regulations to protect the workers against unemployment from the introduction of power machinery, either by forbidding the use of any machinery by members of the guild, or by regulating the amount that may be brought in. In one guild a rule has been enforced that any member-firm putting in power machinery may dismiss not more than half its labor force as a result.

Chinese industry is now in a period of revolution, and many of these safeguards of the past are either no longer applicable, or they are being neglected under large-scale operation. Factory industry does not want to be encumbered with the old practices, and a not infrequent cause of labor disputes is the disregard of old customs by new industries, especially with respect to bonuses and other extra payments that have come to be regarded by the worker as his right and proper due. Under the old household economy, it was customary in each industry to make certain special payments to the workers in addition to their ordinary wage and keep. There were New Year bonuses, native festival bonuses, and special allowances in different industries where a part of the product was given the workers. Some masters also provided clothing to all workers, besides free baths and haircuts. A very common sight, even in fairly modern workshops, is the barber making his periodic rounds from worker to worker during hours, and in the workshop. In modern industry there are production bonuses, pay for overtime or holidays worked, attendance premiums, and other in-

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centives to greater production in addition to the most customary of the old bonuses. All these extra payments vary with each establishment, and it is impossible to determine their amount or whether the factory or the workshop averages more per worker. While extra payments increase the worker's earnings and must not be lost sight of in computing labor costs, they cannot be taken into consideration in comparing Chinese and Western wage levels. There are similar benefits and bonus payments in Western industrial practice which are also irregular and uncertain, and it may be assumed, in the absence of more definite information, that they are of relatively the same importance and may, therefore, be disregarded on both sides.

Comparison of Chinese and American Wage Levels

A great obstacle to an understanding of the Chinese wage level is the silver base of Chinese currency. Fluctuations in the price of silver on international markets react immediately and in like degree upon the conversion value of Chinese dollars expressed in foreign currencies, but the reaction is much slower and to a less degree upon internal prices in China. The conversion of wages into foreign currencies during periods of wide fluctuations in the price of silver is very misleading. Between 1929 and 1930, the value of the Chinese dollar in terms of American dollars declined nearly 29 per cent. In the same period, the general index of wholesale prices in Shanghai [60] altered upward less than 10 per cent; and in Shanghai, the effect of monetary fluctuations on prices is more quickly felt than in the interior. In recent years, experiments in national currencies have further complicated the conversion of Chinese values into other denominations. The United States in 1933 went off the gold standard. Between January and December of that year, the value of the Chinese dollar appreciated 69 per cent in terms of the American dollar, while wholesale prices in Shanghai, in the same period, declined only about 9 per cent. Wages change more slowly than prices, and it therefore becomes difficult to make significant comparisons of wages in unrelated currencies.

[60] National Tariff Commission, *Prices and Price Indexes in Shanghai.*

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The difficulties in converting Chinese and American wages to one or the other currency were made evident in an interview with some Chinese cotton mill workers in 1932. They wanted to know what cotton mill labor in American mills was earning. The conversion value of the Chinese dollar at that time was 22 cents American, and the average wage in cotton mills of the Southern United States ranged from $2.13 to $2.68 (U. S.) for a ten-hour day.[61] Converting this relatively low American wage into Chinese dollars, the result was fantastic. Chinese workers earning from 50 cents to less than $1.00, Chinese currency, a day, could not be expected to believe that workers in America doing the same sort of work earned, on the average, $9.68 to $14.55 in Chinese money, per ten-hour day. It was almost as much as many of them were making in a month. It is equally as confusing to the American to be told that Chinese cotton mill operatives earn the equivalent of 11 to 18 cents, U. S. currency, per day, or less than the cost of the basic food requirements of an adult male worker in America.

From the standpoint of the individual, the converted wage is meaningless, because it has no relation to purchasing power or to living standards; but in considerations of foreign trade, the conversion of labor costs into gold or other currencies may be of considerable significance. Currency fluctuation, while not a function of cheap labor, is a disturbing and speculative element that may intensify the wage factor in international competition. The expansion of Chinese trade, in competition with Japanese goods, in the period just preceding the Manchurian conflict, when the price of silver was at its lowest in international markets, is a case in point. An important factor in Japan's recent trade expansion into European and American markets is the depreciated-yen value of her cheap labor.

Efficiency and Labor Costs

The currency differential is uncertain and temporary and may be reversed by currency experiments in other nations. A more fundamental consideration in international competition is

[61] *U. S. Monthly Labor Review*, August, 1933, p. 361, Wages in Alabama, Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia.

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relative efficiency and its relation to real labor costs. That is a problem that will be analyzed and discussed in detail elsewhere. In the present study it is only possible to point out important differences and their significance in any considerations of cheap labor.

Tobacco factories in China, with the same machinery and the same layout as in American factories, and under American management, use five workers where two men are used in the United States. Cotton weaving mills in the two countries show an even wider difference. Weavers on non-automatic looms making plain cloth, in the United States, operate eight to twelve looms. Chinese weavers on similar looms operate one, two, three and four machines per weaver. The maximum number per weaver in China is six, and that is an unusual performance. On automatic looms, of which there are very few in China, the Chinese operate eight, ten or twelve machines per weaver; but in America, there are mills in which one weaver will operate from thirty to ninety automatic looms, and the mill will be almost empty of workers. The Chinese weaving mill requires easily from two to seven times as many weavers as an ordinary American mill.

In cotton spinning, Chinese mills use from two to five times as many operatives as do American mills with similar machinery working on a similar grade of product, and the output per operative in all the processes is one half to one fourth that of the worker in the mills of the United States. With exchange as it was in 1931 and 1932, money wages in American cotton mills averaged twenty times the Chinese wage, while the wage cost per pound of yarn, due to the greater efficiency, averaged only six to seven times the wage cost in China. And, if the exchange rate had been what it was in 1920 or in 1926, the wage costs would have been even closer together, averaging in China one half to one third the American cost.[62] It is still apparent, however, that although exchange fluctuations and inefficiency do modify the relative cheapness of Chinese labor, they do not destroy it.

[62] The data on efficiency in American and Chinese mills have been personally collected by the author.

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Furthermore, inefficiency in the early stages of industrial development may go a long way toward equalizing labor costs between the East and the West, but cheap labor is not necessarily or innately inefficient. It has been demonstrated by Japan that a high degree of efficiency may be developed, without a corresponding increase in wage rates, and that labor that is both cheap and efficient is a very effective competitive factor. In the case of China, efficiency is still low, but with industrial maturity, it can, and will, be increased. With the modern trend toward perfection of machinery, more and more unskilled, and therefore low-priced, labor can be used in industry. The efficiency factor may, in time, be reduced to a common base. In that case, the competitive advantage of cheap labor is greatly enhanced. The extent to which that advantage is a permanent advantage may be indicated in a comparison of real wages.

Real Wages

The significance of wage rates lies, not in how many dollars a man can earn in a day, but in what his wage will buy in China or in America. The cost of food per adult male worker is a unit of measure that has significance in both countries. A more satisfactory measure would consider the whole cost of living, but adequate data are not available, and it is thought that the cost of food, though an imperfect measure that leaves much to be desired, can be used as an indicator of the true relation between Chinese and American wages.

The prevalence of subsistence payments has made it possible to secure estimates of the usual cost of food for an adult male worker in China. From more than thirty employers in various industries scattered over the country and representing about 27,000 workers, the author obtained data on this point. The estimates ranged from $3.00 to $9.00 a month for food and 50 cents to $1.00 a month for the housing of one worker. The most frequent estimate was 20 cents a day, or $6.00 a month for food. These figures are substantiated by other investigators. D. K. Lieu, in his study of silk reeling in Shanghai,[63] states that $6.00 a month is the usual cost of food per worker

[63] D. K. Lieu, *The Silk Reeling Industry in Shanghai*, The China Institute of Economic and Statistical Research, Series 1, no. 2, Shanghai, July 1933.

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and 50 cents a month for lodging. H. D. Fong gives the same figures in his study of the Tientsin carpet industry.[64] An account of the contractor system in Shanghai which was published in the *North China Herald* in 1933 [65] estimated $8.00 a month as the amount charged by recruiting agents for the food, shelter and clothing of each worker. In the absence of more scientific measures, it is not unreasonable to say that the cost of food to an ordinary unskilled or semi-skilled worker in China is probably about 20 cents, Chinese currency, per day.

A survey of cost of living studies in the United States reveals an amazing lack of data on actual costs. It has been necessary to draw on studies scattered over a wide range of years and to convert the data available for other years into terms of 1932 dollars. From the evidence thus assembled, an estimate of the cost of food per adult male worker, maintaining a simple but fair American standard and meeting the basic requirements of health and efficiency, in 1932, was roughly 24 cents (U. S.) a day in the Southern United States. In cities like New York, Philadelphia, Detroit or San Francisco, the cost of food per adult male worker was higher. In farming communities, it was lower, but for cities and towns in North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia, important textile manufacturing states, 24 cents, American money, is a probable cost of food for an unskilled or semi-skilled adult male worker per day. At least, it seems evident from the studies that have been made, that an adult male worker can manage to live on that amount in relatively the same circumstances as the Chinese worker.[66]

[64] H. D. Fong, *op. cit.*

[65] *North China Herald*, November 29, 1933.

[66] The cost of living studies consulted included: U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 357, *Cost of Living in the United States, 1924;* University of Kentucky, Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 316, June 1931, *Standard of Living of Farm Families in Grayson County, Kentucky; U. S. Monthly Labor Review*, vol. 35, no. 4, October 1932, pp. 972-981, "Cost of Living of Wage Earning Women in Richmond, Virginia"; *ibid.*, November 1929, "Incomes and Expenditures of Village and Town Families in Minnesota", by Carle C. Zimmerman; University of Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 372, *Living Expenditures of a Selected Group of Illinois Farm and Small-Town Families, 1929-30*, by Ruth Crawford Freeman and M. Attie Souder; National Industrial Conference Board, *Cost of Living in*

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By reducing wages to basic food units, it is possible to measure, although crudely, their significant purchasing power in each country, and in that way, to reveal the fundamental differential in wage levels. From the author's investigation of forty-six Chinese spinning and weaving factories and workshops, covering more than 44,000 workers, in 1931 and 1932, the common wage among the workers ranged from 50 to 80 cents, Chinese money, per day, including the money equivalent of the food and lodging where it was provided free to the workers. These wage figures do not include the high and the low in each plant, but represent the most usual wage in the forty-six establishments. Some workers were earning considerably less, and some, almost twice as much as the range here given. Compared with the basic cost of food, a wage of 50 to 80 cents represents 2.5 to 4 food units per worker per day. Average wage rates in Shanghai cotton spinning and weaving establishments according to the rates quoted in the Bureau of Social Affairs' 1929 survey ranged from 2.25 to 3.6 food units per adult worker per day; and in the 1932 wage sample of the Ministry of Industries, the usual daily wage of adult workers, in the same industry, amounted to between 2 and 3 food units. Reducing American wages to food units, the average earnings

New York City; idem, Cost of Living in Twelve Industrial Cities, 1928; idem, Special Report No. 8, May 1920; University of California, Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics, *Quantity and Cost Budgets,* Berkeley, 1933; University of California, *Publications in Economics,* vol. 5, no. 5, pp. 295-366, *Cost of Living Studies IV, Spending Ways of a Semi-Skilled Group;* International Labour Office, *Studies and Reports,* Series N, *An International Enquiry Into Costs of Living—A Comparative Study of Workers' Living Costs in Detroit and Fourteen European Cities,* Geneva, 1931; New York State, *Report of the State Board of Housing on the Standard of Living of Four Hundred Families in a Model Housing Project,* The Amalgamated Housing Corporation, by A. Achinstein, July 1931; *First Annual Report of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission for the Year ending February 5, 1933,* issued jointly with a *Report of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission* (Federal); University of Virginia Record Extension Series, vol. XVI, no. 2, August 1931, *Standards of Living in the Village of Crozet, Virginia,* by E. L. Kirkpatrick and E. G. Tough; Morris E. Leeds and C. C. Balderston, *Wages—A Means of Testing Their Adequacy,* Philadelphia, 1931; *Journal of the American Statistical Association,* vol. XXVIII, no. 181, March 1933, "Scales for Measuring the Standard of Living", by E. G. Tough and E. L. Kirkpatrick; Harriet L. Herring, *The Story of Extra-Mill Activities in North Carolina,* University of North Carolina Press, 1923.

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TABLE III

A COMPARISON OF CHINESE AND AMERICAN WAGES IN THE COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY, 1932

	China	Southern United States
Wage per worker per day [67] ..	$0.50 to $0.80 Chinese currency	$2.40 American currency
Cost of food per worker per day [68]	$0.20 Chinese currency	$0.24 American currency
Wage equivalent in foot units	2.5 to 4.0	10
Wage in U. S. currency per day [69]	$0.11 to $0.18	$2.40

of $2.40 per ten-hour day, in the cotton textile industry of the Southern United States, become 10 food units per worker per day. The money wage in America, at the current rate of exchange, was from thirteen to twenty-two times the ordinary money wage in China, but converted to food units the wage in America is only two and a half to four times the Chinese wage. In other words, real wages in China are higher in relation to American wages than are money wages.

Data were available for a similar comparison of wages in knitting establishments and also in coal mines. The average earnings of knitters in Georgia, North Carolina and Tennessee, in 1932, ranged from $1.18 to $4.25 (U. S. currency) for an eight to nine-hour day. The average was about $2.28. For similar workers, the Chinese wage was 65 cents to $1.00 a day, Chinese currency, or 14 to 22 cents, American currency. In money, the American wage was ten to sixteen times the Chinese; in food units, the American wage was only two to three times the Chinese. Both the Shanghai Bureau of Social Affairs

[67] The Chinese wage is the usual or ordinary wage paid in forty-six cotton spinning and weaving establishments employing 44,146 workers, in 1932. It includes an estimate of the money value of board and lodging if provided to the worker free of charge. Data from author's personal investigation. The American wage is average earnings per ten-hour day, in 1932, in the cotton mills of Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia. Data from *U. S. Monthly Labor Review*, vol. 37, no. 2, August 1933, p. 361.

[68] For the source of these estimates see text above.

[69] The Chinese dollar in 1932 averaged about 22 cents American.

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average wage for 1929 and the Ministry of Industries usual wage for 1932, in the knitting industry, fall within the author's wage range here indicated.

TABLE IV

A Comparison of Chinese and American Wages in the Knitting Industry, 1932

	China	Southern United States
Wage per knitter per day [70] ..	$0.65 to $1.00 Chinese currency	$2.28 American currency
Cost of food per worker per day [71]	$0.20 Chinese currency	$0.24 American currency
Wage equivalent in food units	3.25 to 5.0	9.5
Wage in U. S. currency per day [72]	$0.14 to $0.22	$2.28

In coal mining, the American money wage was from eighteen to thirty-three times the Chinese, but in food units the ratio was reduced to from three to six times the Chinese earnings, according to wage rates collected by the author. A survey of miners' wages published in the *Chinese Economic Bulletin* in September 1934, covering many more mines than the author was able to visit, shows a much wider range in the "ordinary" daily wage. In that study the range was from 12 cents to $1.50 (Chinese), but most of the mines paid between 40 cents and $1.00, or practically the same as the author's wage range. The big difference in mine wages in the two countries is due in part to a much greater use of machinery by American mines and the consequent employment of skilled rather than unskilled

[70] The Chinese wage is the usual or ordinary wage in nine knitting establishments, employing 2,464 workers, in 1932. The wages of permanent workers, only, were considered, and apprentices and women and children piece workers are not included. The wage includes an estimate of the money value of board and lodging if provided free to the workers. Data from author's personal investigation. The American wage is the average earnings of knitters (male and female) in an eight or nine-hour day, in hosiery and underwear establishments in Georgia, North Carolina and Tennessee. Data from U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 591, *Wages and Hours of Labor in the Hosiery and Underwear Industries*, 1932.

[71] For source of these estimates see text above.

[72] The Chinese dollar in 1932 averaged about 22 cents American.

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workers. It is possible also that yearly earnings in the two countries would be much closer together, due to the prevalence of short time in American mines.

The comparison of real wages in these three industries suggests that the wage differential between American and Chinese labor is much less in real wages than in money wages, but that there is, nevertheless, a very substantial margin upon which China can build a competitive advantage in international trade. It is quite possible that if other living costs were considered, the Chinese margin of advantage would be still greater.

TABLE V

A COMPARISON OF CHINESE AND AMERICAN WAGES IN COAL MINING, 1931

	China	Southern United States
Wage per worker per day [73]	$0.50 to $0.90 Chinese currency	$3.65 American currency
Cost of food per worker per day [74]	$0.20 Chinese currency	$0.24 American currency
Wage equivalent in food units	2.5 to 4.5	15
Wage in U. S. currency per day [75]	$0.11 to $0.20	$3.65

Summary

China in the past has not been eager to industrialize, but in recent years there has grown up a desire to transform the old order for the purpose of fighting the aggression of the West with the weapons of the West. China's major resource is labor. Its quantity and its cheapness cannot be denied, although, in the present stage of industrial development, the cheapness is modified by inefficiency. The question that arises

[73] The Chinese wage is the usual or ordinary wage in 1931 at the Kailan, Paochin, Penhsihu and Fushun mines, employing a total of 80,500 workers. It includes an estimate of the money value of food and lodging where they are provided free. Data from author's personal investigation. The American wage is average earnings per eight-hour day for miners and loaders in West Virginia, Tennessee and Alabama, 1931. Data from *U. S. Monthly Labor Review*, vol. 37, no. 2, August 1933, p. 361.

[74] For sources of these estimates see text above.

[75] The Chinese dollar in 1931 averaged about 22 cents American.

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is how best to utilize this major resource for the advancement of industrialization. The existence of an enormous body of workers at the bare subsistence level creates of itself manifold economic and social problems. It acts in many ways as a dead-weight on industrialization. It retards the introduction of machinery, the application of invention, the improvement of quality, and the development of efficiency. While efficiency is largely a matter of training and organization and discipline, it is also very closely related to long hours, inadequate wages, unhealthy and difficult living conditions, factory and workshop sanitation, accident hazards, overcrowding, improper diet, and illiteracy. And these conditions arise from a cheap and plentiful labor supply. On the wage level that prevails, labor is unable to better its own condition; and industry, because labor is cheap, cannot afford to introduce labor-saving devices. A very serious problem that arises with industrialization in China is the assimilation of a labor-saving economy in the presence of a superabundant labor supply. Will it be possible in destroying the old self-sufficient economy to create enough new opportunities to absorb, not only those large numbers now in need of occupation, but also those whose present occupations will be destroyed by the forces of industrialization?

Cheap labor creates a further paradoxical situation. China's home market, long coveted by the trading nations, is a very important resource for industrialization, but its development depends upon a higher standard of living which in itself is inconsistent with the continuance of labor at its present low level. In a world that is no longer self-sufficient, the home market must be supplemented with international trade, and in foreign markets, China's cheap labor will be her greatest competitive advantage. Can a satisfactory balance be struck? If China develops her modern industries and appears in the markets of the world, will this cheap labor be an economic asset, or will it become a political liability prejudicing the sale of China's goods? Can China's man-power, the envy of the world, be utilized by China to her own success? What will be the social consequences to the rest of the world of its effective exploitation?

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INTERSTATE COMPACTS AND SOCIAL LEGISLATION II

II. Interstate Compacts after Negotiation

1. Possibility of Change and Amendment of Interstate Compacts

DURING the course of this discussion * it has repeatedly been indicated that flexibility and responsiveness to economic and social change is of the essence in any attempt to deal with social problems by legislative and administrative action. Therefore the compact device must continually be examined with an eye to its flexibility and adaptability for handling such problems. As an interstate agreement creates rights which may be altered only by consent of the parties, it is true that such an agreement is built more firmly into the legislative structure than unilateral or even reciprocal action on the part of the states concerned. Because of that fact, it is important at the time of negotiation for a state to be sure that it is not entering an agreement which might drag down its existing standards to the level of states with lower requirements. So a state with a child labor law forbidding the employment of young persons below the age of sixteen would not want to enter a compact which would necessitate lowering its age limit to fourteen. An attempt may be made to safeguard standards as in the minimum wage compact provision:

> that nothing herein contained shall be construed as abrogating, repealing, modifying or interfering with the operation of the laws already in effect in any State party hereto which establish standards equivalent to or above those herein specified, nor to prevent the enactment of additional laws establishing similar or higher standards; nor shall anything herein contained repeal

* The first part of this article was published in The Political Science Quarterly for December 1935, vol. L, no. 4, pp. 502-524.—Ed.

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> or affect any laws concerning conditions of employment that are not in conflict herewith or that deal with subjects not included herein.[99]

How may these similar or higher standards be attained? In other words, may a compact contain within itself possibilities for rapid amendment or revision, first of all in its own terms and, second in statutes enacted in pursuance of it? This is a new emphasis necessitated by the new subject matter of interstate agreements today, for in the past the need has more often been for insistence on their binding quality.[100] Accordingly, where a compact has been used to settle a dispute over water rights, the problem has been to provide sufficient guarantees of enforcement rather than of possible change.

An agreement may, of course, be amended as to its own terms by the consent of the participating states and of the federal government.[101] Such changes may be as difficult as the negotiation of a new compact and so offer little opportunity for flexibility in arrangement. This is particularly true if a number of states are concerned, for a requirement of unanimous consent may be apt to preclude any possibility of change. If a compact contains provisions which limit its duration or which require periodic approval by the legislatures of the states in the agreement, it at least calls attention to the need for regular revision, as must be the case wherever standards are involved. Thus two or more legislatures may agree to maintain the terms of a compact unchanged for a certain length of time or else they may determine the length of the period to elapse before revision is attempted.

For practical purposes flexibility in statutory provisions enacted in pursuance of a compact is of equal importance with the possibility of amending the agreement itself. A state is

[99] Title I, Policy and Intent.

[100] *Cf.* Governor Hoffman, *op. cit.*, for view that amendment is impossible.

[101] Georgetown v. Alexandria Bridge Co., 12 Pet. 91, 9 L. Ed. 1012 (1838); Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Co. v. Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co., 4 Gill & Johnson 1 (Maryland 1832); Union Fishermen's Cooperative Packing Co. v. Shoemaker, 98 Oreg. 659, 193 Pac. 476 (1920).

For illustrations of the procedure, *vide* Port Authority Statutes (Sixth Ed.), Jan. 1934, pp. 30, 33, 45.

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bound by an interstate promise not to enact legislation controverting [102] the terms to which it has agreed. It is, however, not always easy to determine what constitutes controversion. This difficulty is particularly apt to occur when other legislation of the state, enacted with reference to subjects other than those contained in the compact, is construed with reference to that agreement. If a law was already on the statute books before the consummation of a compact, it does not apply to the terms of a compact unless it is expressly so extended. Thus the existing administrative control of state officers, such as the state comptroller's power to audit under the general provisions of the New York finance law,[103] may not be extended to apply to the Port Authority of New York in the absence of provision to that effect in the compact or in the legislation enacted pursuant to it.[104] If, on the other hand, a compact is negotiated first and legislation is subsequently enacted which may refer to the compact at least in part, that legislation must meet with the terms of the compact. For example, the Port of New York Authority is empowered by the provisions of the agreement between New York and New Jersey to appoint such officers and employees as it may need and "shall fix and determine

[102] Green v. Biddle, 8 Wheat. 1 (U. S. 1823); Coffee v. Groover, 123 U. S. 1 (1887); President Managers, etc. v. Trenton City Bridge Co., 13 N. J. Eq. 46 (1860); Bass' Lessee v. Dinwiddie, 3 Tenn. 130 (U. S. C. C. 1812); State v. Faudre, 54 W. Va. 122, 46 S. E. 269 (1903); *cf.* Pennsylvania v. Wheeling & Belmong Bridge Co., 13 How. 518 (U. S. 1851); 34 *Columbia Law Rev.* 170 (1934); 35 *idem*, 82, note 42 (1935).

[103] Laws of New York, 1909, Ch. 58. Revised in Laws of 1926, Ch. 548.

[104] *Opinion of the Attorney General of New York Relative to the Power of Comptroller to Audit Port Authority Expenditures and As to the Status of the Port Authority*, May 12, 1921. This contains the further opinion that Sec. 3 of the Public Buildings Law of New York, providing that the Trustee of Public Buildings shall lease the quarters for the different commissions, etc., if the state government does not apply to the Port of New York Authority which has a special status as an interstate organization.

Cf. Re: Applicability of Section 222 of Labor Law to Port Authority Construction, Opinion of Attorney General, Mar. 10, 1932, which states that the labor law of New York (Sec. 222) providing preference for citizens of the state in the construction of public works does not apply to construction under the Port of New York Authority, even when such construction is within the confines of New York state.

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their qualifications and duties." [105] It was furthermore provided by this act that the legislatures of the two states, on recommendation by the Port Authority and approval by the governors, obligate themselves to the extent of not more than $100,000 a year for salaries, office and administration expenses.[106] Consequently when the New York legislature decided that no money to be paid for personal services within that state could be paid until the schedule of the positions and salaries had been submitted to and approved by the Governor, the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and the Chairman of the Assembly Ways and Means Committee,[107] it apparently imposed a limitation which it was not authorized to do under the compact.[108] Therefore the provisions of that same compact "as previously observed constitute the law of both signatory states and they modify by implication any conflicting statute of either state." [109]

It would seem obvious that a state may raise its own standards above those prescribed in an agreement if in so doing it in no way interferes with a promise to live up to the standards set by that agreement. "Raising standards" may be broadly interpreted, as was true in the dispute between Washington and Oregon over an attempted modification of the fishing laws of the latter state. A compact between them provided that such of the fishing laws of the two states as affected the waters of the Columbia River and its tributaries should not be altered or amended except with the consent of both states.[110] Following this, Oregon enacted legislation providing that fishing licenses should not be issued to any person not a citizen [111] and the question arose as to whether or not this was a modification of

[105] Art. XIV.

[106] Art. XV.

[107] Laws of New York, 1923, Ch. 342.

[108] *Opinion of the Attorney General of New York Relative to the Validity of Certain Provisions in Appropriation Acts*, Sept. 10, 1923.

[109] Bush Terminal Corp. *et al.* v. Port of New York Authority, *N. Y. Law Jour.*, June 21, 1934.

[110] Gen. Laws, Oreg., 1915, Ch. 188, Sec. 20; Session Laws, Wash., 1915, Ch. 31, Sec. 116; 40 Stat. L. 515, Ch. 47 (U. S.).

[111] Gen. Laws, Oreg., 1919, Ch. 292.

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the terms of the compact. The Supreme Court decided that the law of Oregon did not interfere with the compact since it did not "amend" the fishing laws without the consent of Washington, and the agreement between the two states did not require the states to issue any fishing licenses whatsoever.[112] According to this interpretation, the state of Oregon was merely trying to raise its own standards above those laid down in the compact. If, however, the court had held that the state had lowered its standards below those agreed to, it would evidently have violated its agreement.

Obviously it is impossible to foresee all problems that may arise in a changing field. The situation may so develop that mere amendment of a compact will appear insufficient and a state may therefore desire to withdraw completely from its obligations. If the original agreement stipulates a time limit or the terms under which it may terminate, the situation is comparatively simple. Thus the oil compact, signed in February 1935, provides its own death warrant by setting September 1, 1937 as the date for its expiration.[113] It also arranges for the withdrawal of any state which desires it upon sixty days' notice. The minimum wage compact provides:

> Each State party to this compact agrees that it will not withdraw therefrom until it has reported to the interstate commission the reasons for its desire to withdraw. The interstate commission shall, upon receipt of such report, investigate the situation and shall, within six months, submit its recommendations. If the State still desires to withdraw from the compact, it shall defer such action for two years from the date of the findings of the interstate commission.[114]

[112] Olin v. Kitzmiller, 259 U. S. 260 (1922). *Cf.* also McGowan *et al.* v. Columbia River Packers' Ass'n, 245 U. S. 352 (1917); Washington v. Oregon, 211 U. S. 127 (1908), 214 U. S. 205 (1908); McGown & Sons v. Van Winkle, 277 U. S. 574 (1928); Union Fishermen's Cooperative Packing Co. v. Shoemaker, 98 Oreg. 659, 193 P. 476 (1920); State v. Gates, 104 Oreg. 112, 206 P. 863 (1922); Alsos v. Kendall, 111 Oreg. 359, 227 P. 286 (1924). *Cf.* similar situation between Maryland and Virginia in Hendricks v. Commissioner, 75 Va. 934 (1882).

[113] Art. VIII.

[114] Title II, Sec. 5.

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In the absence of provisions for renunciation, theory has it that a state may not repudiate [115] an existing compact any more than it may enact legislation controverting its terms. But as a matter of practical fact, states have on occasion resorted to the last extremity of absolute repudiation, and, as will be seen later, there is little that can be done about it. In the important case of *Virginia v. West Virginia,*[116] Virginia urged that her offer of a transfer of territory to West Virginia had been repealed prior to approval of the compact by Congress, but the Supreme Court held that the offer of transfer was accepted by the creation of West Virginia, implying, however, that if the offer had been conditional, the withdrawal [117] would have been effective. An interesting situation arises when the decision of the highest court of a state indicates that a compact violates the state constitution. As that court's interpretation of its own constitution is the ultimate authority,[118] the decision in effect abrogates the compact without the consent of any other state.

A realistic approach to the situation indicates that even short of entire repudiation, a state may by devious means attempt to avoid its obligations. It may enact legislation which in effect nullifies the compact, or issue rules and regulations which abrogate the spirit if not the letter of the agreement, or fail to perform any affirmative action required by its terms. It may even fail to provide an adequate administrative set-up or refuse to allow appropriations for administration. These difficulties are so real that the Interstate Conference on Labor Compacts in October 1935 suggested the inclusion of a provision regarding appropriations in the minimum wage compact.[119]

[115] Rhode Island v. Massachusetts, 12 Pet. 657 (U. S. 1837), 4 How. 591 (U. S. 1846); Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Co. v. Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co., 4 Gill & J. L. (Maryland, 1832); Virginia v. West Virginia, 11 Wall. 39 (U. S. 1870); Virginia v. West Virginia, 220 U. S. 1 (1911); Kentucky v. Indiana, 281 U. S. 163 (1930).

[116] 11 Wall. 39, 20 L. Ed. 67 (1870).

[117] Indiana v. Kentucky, 136 U. S. 479 (1889) and State v. Cunningham, 102 Miss. 237 (1912) refer to but do not decide the question of withdrawal.

[118] Cooley, *Constitutional Limitations* (8th ed., 1927), vol. I, p. 25.

[119] *Sixteenth Conference on Interstate Labor Compacts* (mimeographed), p. F4.

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2. *Administration of Interstate Compacts*

It is well known that legislation without provision for administration is of little practical efficacy. This is particularly true in social legislation, which involves the issuance of numerous administrative rules and regulations and the ability to see that they are followed. If a minimum wage is to be established, the state must decide what the wage shall be and in which industries it shall be effective. Obviously a number of changing factors are involved, for a flat rate for all times and places, in all industries, would be of no value. Furthermore, once the rate is determined for a given industrial situation, it is important to see to it that there is no undercutting and that the rate is actually paid to all to whom it applies. Therefore adequate administration is of the utmost importance. Likewise in the interstate field, undercutting between states must be prevented and legislation adopted in pursuance of the compact must not be weakened by conflicting regulations of the administrative authorities of the participating states.

Because compacts in the field of social legislation involve a new situation, the need for administrative authority has only recently come into the picture. Earlier compacts, designed to settle disputes between states in such matters as jurisdiction over waterways or territory, did not point the way to a continuing administrative authority. They contained in essence only a determination on common policy, separately administered—where administration was necessary—by the participant states.

A first step forward is found in such an arrangement as that for amicable settlement of future conflicts arising after the negotiation of a compact by commissions appointed on the occasion of each dispute. The Colorado River Compact provides that certain specified subjects are to be adjusted by commissions appointed by the governors of each state affected, at the request of any one of them, but such adjustment is to be subject to ratification by the legislatures of the states so affected.[120] This arrangement for the appointment of temporary, *ad hoc* commissions and for subsequent legislative rati-

[120] Art. VI.

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fication is unduly cumbersome. Furthermore, disregarding the need for continuous study and administrative action, it centers on the probabilities of dispute and litigation. If the compact had contained less rigid stipulations concerning the apportionment of the waters of the Colorado River [121] and had instead set up an interstate authority,[122] more than one pitfall might have been avoided.

If interstate compacts are to promote state coöperation rather than merely to forestall disputes and litigation, the need for a continuing interstate authority must be emphasized. A vague provision for such an authority is found in the Interstate Crime Commission to "endeavor to render effective all agreements entered into between states for the prevention of crime and for the better enforcement of the criminal laws, whether such agreements are in the form of compacts, legislative acts, or administrative regulations." [123] Obviously such an organization can have but little authority. The oil and minimum wage compacts go slow steps forward in the building up of such organization. The former establishes an interstate oil commission, composed of one representative appointed by each state party to the agreement. It gives this commission powers of investigation and recommendation. However

> No action shall be taken by the Commission except; (1) by the affirmative votes of the majority of the whole number of the compacting States, represented at any meeting, and (2) by a concurring vote of a majority in interest of the compacting States at said meeting, such interest to be determined as follows; Such

[121] Art. III.

[122] Olson, R. L., *The Colorado River Compact* (published by the author, 1926) recommends the creation of a continuing Colorado River Authority (ch. vi).

[123] Report of Committee on Permanent Organization, Interstate Crime Conference, *State Government*, November 1935. The Interstate Crime Commission as established is to be "composed of one member from each of the forty-eight states. The delegate from each state shall be designated by the Commission on Interstate Coöperation of such state; provided, however, that in the case of any state which has no Commission on Interstate Coöperation, the delegate shall be appointed by the Governor." It shall biennially elect from among its members an executive committee of seven, which shall elect a Chairman from among its members and which shall meet at least once every two years.

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vote of each State shall be in the decimal proportion fixed by the ratio of its daily average production during the preceding calendar half-year to the daily average productions of the compacting States during said period.[124]

Under the minimum wage compact, as we have seen, each state sets up a "continuing unpaid commission . . . to deal with the other ratifying States concerning questions arising under this compact and the operation of the same within the limits of their respective States."[125] The compact might have provided for joint meetings of these separate commissions, to facilitate concerted action subject to approval by the participating states. Instead, the agreement sets up one interstate commission, composed of representatives of the different states in the compact. It is well to note the arrangements in some detail:

. . . The chairman of . . . [the] state commission shall be . . . the representative of his State on an interstate commission which shall be composed of the representatives so designated by the several States parties to this compact. The Governors of the signatory States shall request the President of the United States to appoint a representative of the Federal Government to the interstate commission. The expenses of the interstate commission shall be shared equally by the States ratifying this compact. The interstate commission shall annually make a report of its activities and shall furnish copies to the Governors of the ratifying States and to the permanent commissions of such States.

. . . Should any questions arise on the part of one or more of the States ratifying this compact, concerning a matter involved in said compact or in any state law adopted in pursuance thereof, then such question shall be brought before the said interstate commission for consideration. Said interstate commission shall make any necessary investigations, shall publish its findings and any recommendations and shall furnish such copies of findings and recommendations to the state commissions in each State party to this compact.

. . . If any ratifying State should desire a modification of any provision or provisions of this compact, or a revision of

[124] Art. VI.

[125] Title II, Sec. 2.

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> the entire compact, or if for any reason it should become desirable to extend the scope of said compact, the aforesaid interstate commission shall, upon the application of one or more of the ratifying States, and after 30 days' notice to the Governors and state commissions of the other States, proceed to consider such application and the reasons advanced for the proposed modification or revision and shall make such recommendations to the ratifying States concerning the same as may seem fitting and proper. . . .
>
> . . . Each State party to this compact agrees that it will not withdraw therefrom until it has reported to the interstate commission the reasons for its desire to withdraw. The interstate commission shall, upon receipt of such report, investigate the situation and shall, within six months, submit its recommendations. If the State still desires to withdraw from the compact, it shall defer such action for two years from the date of the findings of the interstate commission.[126]

It should be noted that the authority of the joint organization is in this case limited in function to collection and interpretation of facts and recommendation as to policy and administration. No actual interstate administration is provided. Indeed, any policy undertaken as a result of the recommendation of the interstate commission is definitely to be administered by each state, for the compact provides that "the appropriate administrative agencies of each State shall thereafter enforce and supervise the operation of the laws relating to this compact and the laws enacted to make the provisions of said compact effective."[127] A lack of correlation appears inevitable in such a diffusion of administrative responsibility.

The most closely knit interstate authority is a single body empowered to act of its own right. It may issue rules and regulations in a given field and, as a last step, it may be given further authority to see to it that those rules and regulations are observed. The classic example of an interstate organization with such power is the Port of New York Authority,

[126] Secs. 2, 3, 4, 5.

[127] Title II, Sec. 6.

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created by a compact [128] between New York and New Jersey. The very first article pledged the two states to give their "faithful coöperation in the future planning and development of the Port of New York." A public corporation was accordingly set up for the district of the port of New York, as defined in the compact.[129] In this discussion we are concerned with the work of that corporation as an administrative organization rather than as a corporate entity. It has an appointive membership from the two participating states

> including six resident voters from the state of New York, at least four of whom shall be resident voters of the city of New York, and six resident voters from the state of New Jersey, at least four of whom shall be resident voters within the New Jersey portions of the district, the New York members to be chosen by the state of New York and the New Jersey members by the state of New Jersey in the manner and for the terms fixed and determined from time to time by the legislature of each state respectively, except as herein provided. Each commissioner may be removed or suspended from office as provided by the law of the state from which he shall be appointed.[130]

The commission was given such powers as authority to buy, sell, lease and operate transportation and terminal facilities, to

[128] Laws of 1921, N. Y., Ch. 154; Laws of 1922, N. Y., Ch. 43; amended Laws of 1930, N. Y., Ch. 419; Laws of 1921, N. J., Ch. 151-2; Laws of 1922, N. J., Ch. 9; amended Laws of 1930, N. J., Ch. 244. The compact was signed by commissioners of the two states on April 30, 1921, and Congressional consent was given by 42 Stat. L. 174-180 and 42 Stat. L. 822-6.

[129] Art. II.

[130] Laws of 1930, N. Y., Ch. 419; Laws of 1930, N. J., Ch. 244; Compact, Art. IV as amended. The New Jersey appointments were made in the first instance directly by the legislative body (Laws of 1921, N. J., Ch. 152) and the New York appointments were made by the governor with the advice and consent of the Senate (Laws of 1921, N. Y., Ch. 203).

"The number of commissioners is due partly to a desire to give adequate representation to both states, which originally resulted in a commission of six, three from each state, and partly to the desire to include the commissioners of the two state tunnel commissions which constructed the Holland Tunnel and which were merged with the Port Authority some years ago, resulting in the present commission of twelve, six from each state." Cohen, J. H., *What Authority Has An Authority*, Address before the Amer. Ass'n of Port Authorities, Toronto, Sept. 5, 1933, p. 6.

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borrow money and issue bonds. It could exercise these powers as soon as it had prepared and secured approval by the legislatures of the two participating states of a comprehensive plan which it was to draw up for the development of the port of New York. To hurry the preparation of the plan, the compact provided that each state might withdraw from the whole agreement if the plan had not been adopted by both states on or before the first of July, 1923. As a matter of fact, the plan was adopted by both states and approved by Congress in 1922.[131] The Authority was then under way as an administrative entity. Indeed, it was to be so much of an entity that prior to the signing of the compact question was raised as to whether it constituted an unauthorized quasi-political subdivision of the United States in violation of the federal Constitution.[132]

Although the interstate commission set up by the minimum wage compact was found to have powers only of investigation and recommendation, the interstate organization of the Port of New York Authority is allowed rule-making or quasi-legislative power, subject to approval by the states and the exercise of the power of Congress. The compact in express terms allows the Authority

> to make suitable rules and regulations not inconsistent with the constitution of the United States or of either state, and subject to the exercise of the power of Congress, for the improvement of the conduct of navigation and commerce, which, when concurred in or authorized by the legislatures of both states, shall be binding and effective upon all persons and corporations affected thereby.[133]

It is important to note the qualification here imposed and to emphasize the fact that the rule-making power as here given is not absolute. It may be seen that there are two ways by which the Authority may exercise that power. It may go to

[131] Laws of 1922, N. Y., Ch. 43; Laws of N. J., 1922, Ch. 9; Public Res. No. 66, 67th Cong.

[132] City of New York v. William R. Willcox *et al.*, 115 Misc. 351 (1921).

[133] Art. XVIII. *Cf.* City of New York v. William R. Willcox *et al.*, 115 Misc. 351 (1921).

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both state legislatures with the specific rules and regulations it wishes to promulgate and get the state legislatures to adopt them, or it may go to the state legislatures in advance and get a grant of power to enact such rules and regulations as it wishes. An illustration of the first procedure is found in the rules adopted by the Authority for the control of traffic on the interstate bridges and tunnels operated by it. These rules were submitted for legislative concurrence by New York and New Jersey before a binding quality could be assured them.[134] An illustration of the second method is found in the recently enacted statute of New York, which provides that the two states of New York and New Jersey agree "subject to the approval or concurrence of the Congress of the United States, that the holding or storing of freight by ocean carriers upon public piers in the district shall be subject to regulation by the Authority."[135] Under this act legislative authorization is allowed previous to the promulgation of rules and regulations by the Port of New York Authority.

In the past the power to enforce its rules and regulations has been denied to the administrative organization of the Authority, and the two states have thus retained control of the penalties for violation of any order, rule or regulation of the Port Authority.[136] New York has provided that any violation of the rules of the Authority for control of highway traffic is punishable as an offense triable in a magistrate's court.[137] By a New Jersey statute, the members of the force of the Authority shall have power "to arrest on view, and without a warrant, any person violating any such order within the jurisdiction of New Jersey, and, in addition, shall have all the powers conferred by law on police officers or constables in the enforcement of the laws of this State and the prevention of violations thereof."[138] If the recently enacted New York statute in

[134] Laws of 1932, N. J., Ch. 146; Laws of 1934, N. Y., Ch. 251.

[135] Laws of 1935, N. Y., Ch. 711. This law is not yet in effect as it has not been adopted by New Jersey or approved by Congress.

[136] Art. XIX of the Compact.

[137] Laws of 1932, N. Y., Ch. 599, Sec. 1 N.

[138] Laws of 1932, N. J., Ch. 113, I.

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regard to storing freight on the piers may be taken as any indication, we may look for a possibility of increased power for the administrative organization of the Authority. This act contains the provision, in addition to those discussed above, that any person violating it, or the rules and regulations of the Authority as authorized, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.[139] Of course, it is too soon to come to any conclusions as to the outcome of this legislation, particularly as it has not yet become effective because of inaction by New Jersey. But, nevertheless, these provisions may serve as straws to show which way the wind is blowing.

The part which the federal government plays may not end with the approval of the negotiation of an interstate agreement, but may continue on into the actual administration of the compact. The exercise of federal power may be attained in several ways.

First of all, there may be an informal use of the resources of the federal government by the interstate administrative organization. The Port of New York Authority again furnishes an example, in its control over explosives passing through its tunnels or over its bridges. In adopting rules and regulations for such control, the Authority embodies the definitions of explosives as determined by the Interstate Commerce Commission and furthermore requires the driver of any vehicle transporting such explosives over the bridges or through the tunnels under its jurisdiction to carry a bill of lading or other shipping paper defining the articles by the specific names used in the Interstate Commerce Commission definitions.[140] Such adoption of federal standards, however, is entirely voluntary on the part of the Port of New York Authority.

But the federal government may exercise effective control over an interstate administration by the relationship of federal law to the administrative body. So the tolls charged on any

[139] Sec. 10. The Authority itself may maintain a civil action for the recovery of any unpaid charge, as indicated in Sec. 8, but this type of provision is not a new one.

[140] *Supplement No. 1 to Traffic Rules and Toll Rates*, effective Jan. 1, 1935, Port of New York Authority Operating Department.

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bridge constructed under the federal bridge act[141] must be reasonable and just, and the Secretary of War may at any time pass on the reasonableness of such tolls and prescribe rates which he deems to be proper. So if the Port of New York Authority, for example, decides on a schedule of tolls for the George Washington Bridge which the Secretary of War thinks are too high, he may prescribe a schedule which he estimates to be more fitting.[142]

On the request of states participating in a compact, the federal government may be represented in the actual administrative organization set up by the terms of the agreement, as under the minimum wage compact.[143] *Mutatis mutandis,* Congress may condition its consent to the whole negotiation of a compact on the necessity of federal participation in the administrative organization to be set up under the agreement. So the recent act of Congress for attempted control of the "hot oil" situation gives blanket consent to states to undertake an oil compact, subject to the condition that the total production of oil allowed by the combined signatory states is to coincide with the total demand as established by the Federal Petroleum Board.[144]

Where the federal government has an especial interest, it may prescribe a definite part for itself in the administration. Under the prison labor compact a Prison Labor Authority was established, consisting of nine members, six of whom were to be elected annually by representatives of states signatory to the compact, and three were to be appointed by the President to represent the interests of labor, industry and consumers.[145] That Authority, among other things, was to administer the

[141] 34 Stat. L. 84, Ch. 1130.

[142] His consent or approval is not, however, a condition precedent to the establishment or collection of such tolls. *Cf. Opinion of Counsel Relating to Federal Jurisdiction Over Tolls Charged on Port Authority Bridges,* May 7, 1928.

[143] Title II, Sec. II. The compact contains no specification for any duties for the representative of the federal government nor any provision for report to it or payment by it of any share of expenses.

[144] Public No. 64, 74th Cong., 1st Sess.

[145] Art. VII, Sec. (1). The method of annual election by state representatives was not provided.

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compact, subject to the right of the President on review to disprove or modify any action taken.[146]

3. *Enforcement of Interstate Compacts*

If a state makes no provision for administration where such is required, or otherwise fails to live up to its obligations under a compact, is there any way in which it may be compelled to act? Here we are up against the old question of the possibility of enforcement of a compact, discussed at length in the famous cases of *Virginia v. West Virginia*.[147] When West Virginia became a separate state, it refused to pay its share of the Virginia debt, contracted before separation. Virginia brought suit and the Supreme Court affirmed the duty of payment. On West Virginia's persistent refusal to live up to its obligations the Court indicated that it had power to enforce its judgment and furthermore, that Congress also had the "undoubted power to legislate" in this situation. Only the final payment by West Virginia appears to have saved the necessity of a show-down as to how these powers might be exercised.

An interstate agreement may in its own terms foresee the possibility for the need of court action to compel enforcement by a state. So the Colorado River Compact, in emphasizing its function to settle disputes rather than to offer a continuous administrative control, reiterates the right of the participating states to initiate action for enforcement, by stating: "Nothing in this compact is to limit a state from instituting legal action for protection of its rights or the enforcement of its provisions."[148] This provision merely makes assurance doubly sure, for even in its absence, a state might bring suit against a sister

[146] Art. VII, Sec. (2).

[147] 206 U. S. 290 (1907); 209 U. S. 514 (1908); 220 U. S. 1 (1911); 222 U. S. 17 (1911); 231 U. S. 89 (1913); 238 U. S. 202 (1914); 241 U. S. 531 (1916); 246 U. S. 565 (1918). *Cf.* Coleman, W. C., "The State as a Defendant under the Federal Constitution; the Virginia–West Virginia Debt Controversy", XXI *Harvard Law Rev.* 210 (1917); Powell, T. R., "Coercing a State to Pay a Judgment; Virginia v. West Virginia", XVII, *Michigan Law Rev.* 1 (1918).

[148] Art. IX.

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state which had violated the obligation of its contract contained in an interstate compact.

To say, however, that a recalcitrant state may be subject to a decree of specific performance at the suit of another participating state, is to say precisely nothing as far as the enforcement of a compact regarding social legislation goes. Obviously in situations requiring such flexible adjustments as agreements on hours of labor or minimum wage, or even interstate coöperation in the pursuit of criminals, a suit in the Supreme Court would provide little hope of help if a state refused to carry out its duties. Furthermore, the tragic fate of laws in such matters as minimum wage or hours of labor for men, indicates to the proponents of social legislation that suit in the courts must be avoided. Such other methods of enforcement as *mandamus* or contempt proceedings against the members of a state legislature or administrative officials are of little avail where not one action but a continuing stream of actions is necessary, for enforcement in one instance would not assure enforcement in the next. In the last analysis, compacts are like treaties in that they depend for enforcement on moral rather than legal sanctions.[149] This being so, it appears inevitable that difficulties may occur in securing enforcement of compacts involving competitive situations or regional jealousies. It has been suggested, however, that such difficulties might be mitigated and enforcement secured in labor compacts by the use of the principle of the Hawes-Cooper Act.[150] For instance, Congress might pass an enabling act whereby a state party to a compact would be permitted to apply to goods from without the state the same standards as are set up under the terms of a compact. Compacts for minimum wage and maximum hour standards could then be made by a group of states without fear of unfair competition from states which refused to establish such standards, as the market for the states with higher wages would be closed to states which declined to conform to the standards indicated in the compact.

[149] Parkman, H., "A Single Standard", *State Government*, July 1934, p. 141.

[150] 45 Stat. L. 1084, Ch. 79.

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Court action may be initiated, not to compel, but to prevent enforcement of an interstate compact. A state entirely outside the compact provisions may begin judicial proceedings. Thus Arizona, the indefatigable opponent, but not a signatory, of the Colorado River Compact, brought suit against the states of California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, Colorado and Wyoming and against the Secretary of the Interior, to have ratification of the compact by those states declared unconstitutional. Unsuccessfully Arizona tried to show that the compact and the building of Boulder Dam in violation of its laws were invasions of the sovereignty of the state.[151]

There are other methods of attempting to prevent enforcement of a compact than a suit between states. If, for instance, an individual claims that the obligations of an existing contract are impaired by an interstate agreement or that he is deprived of " due process of law ", he may prevent a state from carrying out its compact obligations.[152] Other possibilities for judicial prevention of enforcement might occur if the compact at hand contained the possibility of interference in the field of interstate commerce occupied by the federal government, or if the compact might be construed as violating the state constitution of one of the participating states.

III. Conclusions

The foregoing discussion presents only suggestive fragments rather than the results of complete exploration of the field. Generalizations may be made only when more material has accumulated in regard to the newer uses of the compact device

[151] Arizona v. California, 283 U. S. 423 (1931). In the case of United States v. Arizona, 55 S. Ct. 666 (1935), Arizona was successful in showing the building of Parker Dam to be unauthorized and the United States to have no right to enjoin interference by that state with the building of a dam which the federal authorities proposed to construct.

[152] Of course a compact is binding not only on the state but also on its administrative officials and courts and on its citizens. For citizens, *cf.* Poole v. Fleeger, 11 Pet. 185 (U. S. 1893); Sims' Lessee v. Irvine, 3 Dall. 425 (U. S. 1799); Marlatt v. Silk, 11 Pet. 1 (U. S. 1837); Coffee v. Groover, 123 U. S. 1 (1887). For administrative officials, *vide* State *ex rel.* Baird v. Joslin, 116 Kan. 615, 227 Pac. 543 (1924); Kansas City v. Fairfax Drainage District, 34 F. (2d) 357 (C. C. A. 10th, 1929) and 281 U. S. 722 (1930). For courts, *vide* Couch v. State, 140 Tenn. 156, 203 S. W. 831 (1918).

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in its relationship to exact situations. Meanwhile it is necessary to be vigilant, for already the forces of propaganda have taken compacts into their camps. Thus on the basis of information now at hand, the resuscitated proponents of states' rights emphasize the compact as an excellent arrangement to avoid federal encroachment on those rights and a splendid substitute for federal action, while on the other hand the centralizers superciliously dismiss the compact as of possible use only in those situations where the federal government may encourage action under it, or favor it as a means of increasing federal power over the states by making, ultimately, the regional bodies which may have been set up under compacts, a part of the federal field or regional administrative organization. The fact that there are so many undetermined administrative and constitutional issues involved in the new applications of the compact method merely indicates that continued experimentation is in order, rather than that the material is at hand to prove this or that hypothesis.

A realistic view of the situation, however, would seem to indicate that there are many more possible uses for the compact method in regard to social and economic problems than its development heretofore has indicated, but that there are grave difficulties.

A first problem is found in the fact that the whole compact procedure is voluntary. It would seem obvious that state action will be easier to secure in fields where no competitive factors are involved than in those where competition cuts closely. So as recently as June 1935, Governor Hoffman of New Jersey warned the Interstate Conference on Labor Compacts against "hasty or ill-considered action" in this competitive field, lest the future usefulness of the device be impaired in solution of the "many vexing situations which have arisen between States because of cumbersome law, antiquated procedures, inharmonious practices, or the rise of new problems as the result of invention and changes in the habits of the people." [158]

In the second place, the machinery for the negotiation of interstate agreements may involve delays. Not only may

[158] Hoffman, Gov. H. G., *op. cit.*, p. 4.

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state delay as long as it wishes in deciding to enter a compact, but the legislature or governor may procrastinate in authorization of the appointment of a state commission and yet again in the actual appointment itself. Then the commission as appointed in one state must meet with the commissions of the other compacting states and this too may involve delay. Ratification of the action proposed by the commission may involve the longest delay of all.

Even when the compact machinery is set in motion it does not run of its own momentum. Therefore when amendment or revision is necessary, all the participating states and Congress must act, in the absence of provision to the contrary. The difficulties of obtaining unanimous action for amendment or revision may be tantamount to the negotiation of a new compact. Therefore, unless an agreement and legislation enacted in pursuance of its provisions are carefully drafted, a participating state may find that it has limited itself too far by the terms of the compact and that such limitation is difficult to change. This is particularly true whenever questions of standards are involved. Here, such legislation of a state, party to a compact, which sets higher standards than those embodied in a compact, should remain unimpaired. On the other hand, such legislation in a compact must not be fixed immutably so that one participating state may not raise its own standards above those of the compact, or even be able to withdraw if the circumstances warrant. However, if withdrawal is too easy, the compact loses its force. A good arrangement is that seen in the minimum wage agreement, where a state desirous of withdrawal must give its reasons to the interstate commission. Then six months must be allowed for the commission to make its findings and recommendations, and finally two years must elapse before the state can finally withdraw.

Most important, perhaps, of any of the problems raised by the new uses of interstate compacts are those concerning administration. Many questions arise first, as to how far social and economic situations crossing state lines require the constant legislative supervision of the states concerned, second, the

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need for an interstate organization responsible for the administration of the terms of the compact, third, the nature and extent of the power which may be conferred on this interstate body and, fourth, the extent to which these situations may be handled with any degree of authority by such an administrative organization. Many problems of a regional nature require constant creative legislation and cannot be entirely regulated by an administrative board. In general, however, a rule-making body with powers of enforcement affords a greater measure of flexibility than is possible through legislative enactment. Therefore, whenever there is need for continuous supervision and flexible control in the handling of social problems on an interstate basis, there will be need for permanent interstate organization with powers not only of advice and recommendation but of making and enforcing rules.

The difficulties of delegation of power and of interstate commerce here raise warning fingers. The former issue has recently been brought from the twilight of comparative oblivion by the decisions in the Panama Refining Company and the N. I. R. A. cases,[154] and must be reckoned with anew. The possibility of forbidden interference with interstate commerce is always present. May an interstate administrative body, particularly of a regional nature, be given jurisdiction over interstate commerce by the terms of a compact? In so far as such jurisdiction does not interfere with legislation of Congress, it would seem to be possible.[155]

Last of all, the problems of political control must be faced. Only the courts may offer any possible supervision of such an organization. The difficulties in court action for enforcement of social legislation have already been noted.[156]

There has been considerable lack of understanding as to just the exact function of compacts, or where they fit in between federal and state legislation. For instance, at the meeting of

[154] Panama Refining Co. v. Ryan, 293 U. S. 388 (1935); A. L. A. Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States, 295 U. S. 495 (1935).

[155] Cooley v. Board of Wardens of Philadelphia, 12 Howard 299, 13 L. Ed. 996 (1851).

[156] *Vide supra*, p. 52.

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the Interstate Conference on Labor Compacts on October 19, 1935, the Committee on the Field for Future Compacts failed to recommend any extension of the compact method for the present. Instead it presented the one recommendation, entirely outside the compact field, that the United States Congress be urged to amend the federal Social Security Act in certain respects.[157] In general, interstate agreements have been advocated or used in three spheres, all of which present different constitutional as well as administrative problems. Thus compacts are suggested for the field of federal action, from which Congress is for one reason or another temporarily abstaining, and which therefore is in certain respects open to the states until Congress wishes them to withdraw. On the other hand, these interstate agreements are advocated for use in the zone closed to both federal and state action. Last of all, compacts are suggested for coöperative state action on a regional basis where states may act but where the federal government under its constitutional powers may do nothing.

These differing opinions as to function have enabled opponents of progressive labor legislation to think of a compact as a stalling device to prevent action by either federal or state government. For instance, at the Harrisburg meeting of the Interstate Conference on Labor Compacts on November 16-17, 1934, it became apparent to some of the delegates that the proposed compact on child labor might possibly be emphasized to the detriment of ratifications by the participating states of the pending child labor amendment. An amendment was adopted to the proposed child labor compact providing that the compact was not to be construed in any way as interfering with efforts at ratification of the federal amendment, and action on the specific proposals of the compact was deferred. At the Albany meeting of the same conference on October 19, 1935, the New York delegation opposed this amendment. Action

[157] *Report of Committee on Field for Future Compacts* (mimeographed). The Committee stated that it realized this matter to be "somewhat outside the scope of its terms of reference" but necessary to consider "as an emergency matter".

The Conference itself voted to refer the recommendation to its next meeting—*Sixteenth Conference on Interstate Labor Compacts, op. cit.*, p. 3J5.

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was then again deferred for the compact to be "given further consideration." [158]

On the other hand, negotiation of an interstate compact might be offered as a substitute for state action in a particular field, because of the possibility that compact negotiation might be slower than the enactment of legislation by one state alone. To prevent this possibility, the Interstate Conference on Labor Compacts decided that the function of a compact in that field was not to secure new labor laws or higher standards of legislation within the participating states but rather "to remove differentials in existing labor law and to deal with those special problems peculiar to two or more states which no one state is competent to settle by itself and which are outside the sphere of federal action." [159]

This statement penetrates to one of the important issues in any discussion of interstate compacts as a method of social legislation. What are the "problems peculiar to two or more states"? In order to attempt to answer this question, at least in regard to labor legislation, the Massachusetts Commission on Interstate Compacts in Labor and Industry in the early days of its existence made a list of the twenty principal manufacturing industries of the state and of the twenty similar industries in New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania and discovered that the industries were the same twenty in that group of states. Then the Commission made another list showing the leading states in each of the twenty industries. This latter list indicated that in a number of important industries, there was definite competition on the part of states outside this regional group. For instance the cotton textile industry met with the competition of the South; the boot and shoe industry, of the Middle West. The Commission thus early realized the need for extension of the scope of the proposed labor legislation compacts:

> The problem of removing differentials in labor and industrial legislation that are now harmful to the nine northeastern states

[158] *Sixteenth Conference on Interstate Labor Compacts, op. cit.*, p. T5.

[159] *Interstate Compacts*, etc., N. H. Rep't, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21; Johnson, E. M., "Legislative Levees", *State Government*, July 1935, p. 151.

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is not, therefore, capable of complete solution by compacts among the states alone but only by including other states that are leaders in the industries specified.[160]

By June 1935 this regional group was extended. At a conference held in that month, representatives not only of the northeastern states but also of Delaware, Ohio, North Carolina, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Colorado and Florida met for discussion of proposed compacts.[161] The minimum wage compact also, when it speaks of the need for "establishment of reasonably uniform standards in States concerned with the same general fields of industry and competitors in the same markets",[162] and when it provides for adherence of "any State at any time",[163] indicates a realization that industrial competition goes beyond the confines not only of one state but of groups of states.

This situation throws the problem into sharp relief and illustrates the possibilities of compacts on a functional rather than a spatial basis. Here we enter the realm of the speculative. One state, for example, might be a party to a nexus of compacts in different fields of social legislation—crime control, interstate parks and labor legislation. If each of these agreements created an interstate commission for administration, the same state would participate in numerous such commissions. But many of the subjects of the agreements would bear relationship each to the other and so there would be a relationship between the interstate administrative commissions. Or the state might enter a compact negotiated on a regional basis to deal with some one problem such as the sale of alcoholic beverages. That regional group might consist, say, of eight states. Then five similar groups of eight states each might enter compacts. If all of them set up interstate commissions, there would then be six interstate commissions each representing a group of

[160] *First Report of the Commission on Interstate Compacts*, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 22. *Cf.* also pp. 21 and 23.

[161] *New York Times*, June 30, 1935, "16 States Propose Child Labor Curbs".

[162] Title I.

[163] Title II, Sec. 7.

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eight states, with all of the forty-eight states represented by six regional commissions.[164] What then would be the relationship between all of the commissions organized on a regional basis and all organized on a causal basis? Then, too, there would be the problem of the relationship between the various interstate commissions and the federal agencies in the same fields. But this is entering too far into the realm of the theoretical. The development of such organizations, their interrelationships [165] and the control to be exercised over them must be left for the future to determine. Only one straw has blown in that direction—the meeting of representatives from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Connecticut [166] on November 22, 1935 to discuss plans for a permanent regional commission for interstate solution of such problems as crime, milk control, sewage pollution, public welfare, liquor traffic, etc.

In any arrangement, the potentialities of interstate compacts for rapid negotiation and amendment and for flexible interstate administration will to a large degree determine their usefulness in social legislation.

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[164] Toll, Henry, Address delivered at Interstate Compact Conference, Concord, N. H., May 29, 1934, MS.

[165] Senator Toll advocates about ten regional headquarters throughout the United States, each of which would serve as the operating center for the appropriate commissions functioning in that vicinity. Then there would be one central office through which contact would be constantly maintained between the various regional commissions dealing with similar problems and all the other activities of the regional headquarters.

[166] The Connecticut delegates were unofficial. *Cf. New York Herald-Tribune*, Nov. 23, 1935.

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THE WAGE-EARNER IN THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT II

The Question and the Sources

AN earlier article has stated the question for investigation.[1] Accepted doctrines of the influence of the frontier in American history rest in part on the premise that substantial numbers of eastern wage-earners moved West and took up land. The frontier outlet is thus held to have served as a safety valve for industrial discontent. There was, moreover, a widespread belief in the reality of this movement long before Turner made it a part of his great synthesis. Edward Gibbon Wakefield erected a social theory on his disapproval of the process; Horace Greeley built one on its enthusiastic advocacy; and a long line of contemporary observers of varying opinions, from the earliest years of the Massachusetts Bay Colony to the last days of the frontier, recorded their belief that the movement was taking place. Yet in descriptions of the actual process of settlement there are very few references to the presence of former wage-earners among the pioneers. Here, it was suggested, is a significant discrepancy. If there was a substantial movement of industrial workers, it deserves fuller description than it has received. If not, the theories stand in need of modification.

[1] POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, June 1935, pp. 161-185. As there indicated, the investigation was made possible by a grant from the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences. Interpretation and writing have been joint responsibilities, but it should be recorded that the collection of material has been almost entirely the work of the junior author. Use has been made of the libraries and collections of the historical societies of Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Kansas, Oregon, California, Missouri and New York, the public libraries of New York, Detroit, Boston, Lynn, Fall River, Portland (Ore.), and Tacoma, the Library of Congress, the Massachusetts State Library, the Columbia University Library, and the Meeker Memorial Museum of Greeley, Colorado. Special acknowledgment should be made of the courtesies extended by Messrs. T. C. Blegen and Arthur J. Larson of the Minnesota society, Mr. George Root of the Kansas society and Mr. A. B. Copeland of the Meeker Museum.

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The present paper, therefore, represents an attempt to discover how much of a migration of wage-earners took place during the half-century or so in which there was at one end of the country a substantial factory population and at the other an actively advancing frontier. Since there are no comprehensive statistics available, it will be recognized that any estimates must be based on a sampling of the imperfect records surviving so long after the event. The two great sources that might have been thought serviceable, the Census and the records of the General Land Office, throw little light upon the precise question at issue. Though the former appears to approach it by giving both birthplace and occupation, it is clear that nativity does not show where the trade was first practised and that our problem cannot be solved without determining the relationship between the occupation at the time the count was taken and the previous occupation of the same individual. No direct use, therefore, can be made even of the manuscript Census;[2] and the records of applications and entries under the Homestead Act are even more disappointing. They contain no information as to occupations, unless casually mentioned in a character reference; and though the mailing address on the application might be thought of as a clue to previous residence, inspection indicates that the one usually given was not the old home but a place either on or near the homestead itself.[3]

Any attempt at an answer must, therefore, be built up from much more scattered and fragmentary sources of information.

[2] At least short of the task of taking the names of individual wage-earners in a given Census and then searching for them in the haystacks of succeeding enumerations. Consider, for example, the problem of making use of the Census returns in a frontier state. The people in whom we are primarily interested will all be described there as farmers. But suppose there is the record of a "mechanic" born in Massachusetts. Even if we could be sure that he was a wage-earner rather than an independent artisan, there would still be no indication whether he had learned his trade in the state of birth or in the frontier state or in any one of a number of possible stopping places between. Of the latter there would, of course, be no record whatever unless, by chance, he had children born on the way.

[3] A collection of application forms from the various states which had large areas of public lands to dispose of indicates that the same limitations would apply to the use of their records also.

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Of these, we have placed chief reliance on the files of contemporary newspapers. The press of the great cities and of the industrial centers gives clues to the kind of people who were leaving the East, and in these cases the impressions gained from the standard journals could often be checked against the views of a vigorous labor press. Again, the frontier papers frequently carried descriptions of the people who were arriving in the new country. State and county histories were a second resource, and a few of the more reliable of these accounts provided information as to the origins of the settlers in certain western localities. There were cases in which hotel registers could be used to show where the migrants had come from, and others in which city directories could be used to trace the eastern occupations of people found in the West. Records of emigration societies throw considerable light on the status of the migrants who moved under their auspices. On occasion, also, memoirs and diaries and even the recollections of old settlers have been used as corroborative evidence.

In approaching so wide and heterogeneous a range of possible sources, it appeared both necessary and desirable to shorten the search by accepting certain limitations and by concentrating attention on particular times and places that were most likely to show evidence of the movement for which we were seeking. We have not believed that the early numbers of wage-earners were sufficiently large to require us to carry the inquiry back of the year 1830, and we have not in any case taken it further forward than the decade of the 1880's which Turner thought of as marking the end of the great frontier period. For obvious reasons, also, we have paid little attention to the Civil War years.

Within these broad limits, moreover, some further concentration seemed advisable. If the movement of workmen to the West was to be regarded as an escape from oppressive conditions, it might well be expected that the outlet would be sought most eagerly when wages were lowest and conditions the worst. Thus the logic of the safety-valve doctrine suggests that the movement would be particularly marked during industrial depressions, and the belief that migration

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was unusually active at such times finds frequent expression in contemporary writings and at least partial support in the statistics of land alienation. A pair of quotations from the depression of 1837 may serve to illustrate a point that was made no less frequently in later periods of distress. In May of that year a western paper records its anticipation of the movement:

> The troubles of the times are likely to increase the emigration westward this season. Besides mechanics and laborers, there are vast numbers who will seek in the rich regions of the West, to repair the ravages of the storm that has passed over them.[4]

Three years later the *New York Morning Herald* described the process as in full swing:

> The emigration from this city to the "Far West", is increasing tremendously. Whole squads of young men are preparing to emigrate in a few days to the fertile fields of the western states. . . . No wonder the rents and real estate fall in New York. There is a general movement in society, and where it will stop, the holy apostle Saint Peter, only knows.[5]

An attempt to check the validity of this supposition and these observations may be made by examining the relationship between the course of the business cycle and the sale and disposal of the Public Lands. On page 65, therefore, we present a chart on which are plotted three lines: an index number of wholesale prices as an indication of general business conditions, the acres of public land sold and—from 1863—the number of original homestead entries. The result of the comparison is an interesting one. In the earlier period, the amount of land disposed of tended to vary directly with wholesale prices. In the second period the opposite was the case and the number of homestead entries tended to vary inversely with the index of business conditions.[6]

[4] *Detroit Semi-Weekly Free Press*, May 5, 1837.

[5] April 23, 1840.

[6] Hibbard makes the point for the first period in his *History of Public Land Policies* (New York, 1924), pp. 101-105.

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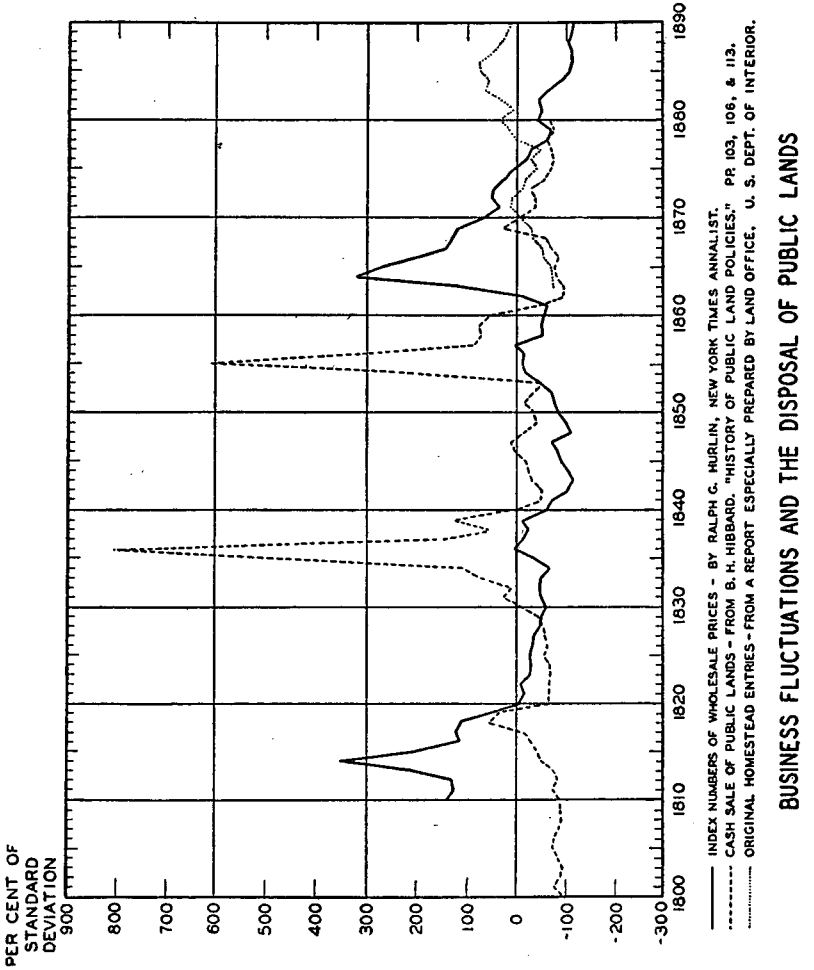
It is the first of these results that seems to conflict with the hypothesis. If land sales fell during depressions, it would appear that the process of new settlement must then have been checked. But there is another possible explanation. It will



be observed that public land sales reached their greatest heights just prior to the peaks in wholesale prices that preceded the depressions of 1837 and 1857. It is known that the lands in these periods were a great field of speculation and that, in each

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case, the breaking of the land bubble had much to do with the crash that followed. To a large extent, therefore, the figures measure speculation rather than occupation and it is quite possible that actual settlers found it easier to purchase the land in depressions than during the land booms. Thus the results for the first period do not necessarily conflict with the theory that the westward movement was intensified during depressions and the results for the second period seem definitely to confirm it. Apparently, then, we are justified in giving special, though by no means exclusive, attention to periods of depression.

A somewhat similar concentration of interests is possible with respect to the places of search. It is not hard to discover where most of the emigrants were going in any particular period. For a number of the western territories there are two dates that indicate when to look for great immigration. These are the times of the government survey and of the coming of the railroads. If we confine our principal attention to the North, people in the thirties thought mainly about going to Michigan and Illinois; in the forties, to Iowa and Wisconsin; in the fifties to Minnesota and eastern Kansas and Nebraska; and in the seventies to western Kansas, Nebraska and the Dakotas.[7] In examining the western material, therefore, this has made it possible to look into specific regions at specified dates. For the eastern material there was, of course, still more obvious reason for concentration upon the industrial regions.

No doubt the results would have been more satisfactory if our resources had made it possible to give an equally thorough examination to all periods and all parts of the frontier, but the selections made were those that appeared most likely to develop the evidence of working-class migration. To the extent, therefore, that these choices introduce an element of bias, it would appear to be in the direction of overestimating rather than of underestimating the relative importance of the wage-earners' share in the westward movement.

[7] We have determined these dates by what seemed to us to be the popular interest in the newspapers. Differing in some cases, and showing the movement more accurately, because based on Census records, are the maps in Thornthwaite and Slentz, *Internal Migration in the United States* (Bulletin No. I of the Study of Population Redistribution), (Philadelphia, 1934), Plates I and II.

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The Case of Fall River

In presenting the results of the investigation, it seems natural to begin with the evidence collected in those eastern centers from which the movement was presumed to start. At the beginning of our period there were few concentrations of wage-earners outside the great cities and a number of specialized manufacturing towns situated largely in New England. Among the latter we chose Fall River, Massachusetts, for special study because of the abundance of material. We found there a complete file of newspapers beginning at 1826 including for a short time a labor paper as well. The public library also possesses city directories for a good part of the period and these proved valuable in checking occupations.

The visitor to Fall River today finds what he may believe is visible proof of the migration of wage-earners. Standing adjacent to the City Hall on Main Street is a monument with a water fountain. On it is the following inscription:

PRESENTED
TO THE CITIZENS AND
MILL OPERATIVES
BY
HENRY D. COGSWELL, D.D.S.
OF SAN FRANCISCO
WHO IN 1833 AS A
FACTORY BOY MARCHED TO
THE MUSIC OF THE BELL

Here indeed is the story of a wage-earner who made good in the West.

The first mention of westward migration discovered in the Fall River press speaks of a plan for a number of men from Pawtucket to settle in Illinois. Though the writer is himself hostile to the proposal, the way in which he relates migration to the spirit of discontent and the state of the cotton industry suggests that he is entirely familiar with the safety-valve doctrine:

> Emigration.—Several persons in Pawtucket, have associated themselves for the purpose of raising a company of one hundred

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able bodied men to make a settlement in Illinois. Is it the spirit of enterprise or the demoniacal spirit of discontent which renders our population so restless? One would think that Pawtucket offered as strong inducements, and as great facilities for industry as any place on the continent. . . . There is no doubt that the cotton manufacture on which Pawtucket chiefly depends, will, tariff or no tariff, go on to prosper. It is at this moment, the most profitable and safest business in the country; and it will continue to be profitable and safe, long after the prairie grass shall have grown over the heads of the emigrants. But if they must needs go, let success go with them. . . .[8]

The tantalizing thing is that we do not know whether these "hundred able bodied men" were wage-earners or whether or not they actually migrated. A similar item appeared the following month:

A company is forming in Worcester county to establish a colony in the Valley of the Mississippi.[9]

Again there is no direct evidence of the character of the migration but it may be imagined that a Worcester county company was more likely than a Pawtucket one to be composed of farmers.

The first indication of a participation of Fall River people in the western migration appears, strangely enough, in a notice taken by the local paper from the *Pawtucket Chronicle:*

Land Company—We notice in the Pawtucket Chronicle the articles of agreement entered into by a company of gentlemen in this town and vicinity, called the Fall River Western Land Company. The object of this company as we understand it, is to purchase a tract of land at the West, on which to settle—to divide the land into farms for individual purchasers, reserving a portion of it for a village or town. A committee, we learn, is to proceed to the Great Valley in the spring to select a suitable spot and purchase the land. The company, so far as we know its members, is composed of industrious and enterprising young men of this place, whose society we should regret

[8] *Fall River Monitor*, August 7, 1830.

[9] *Ibid.*, September 25, 1830.

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> to lose, but for whose prosperity and happiness whether here or elsewhere, we most heartily wish.[10]

This seems to point to a group of similar character to the one formed in Pawtucket. But any doubt as to its composition is quickly dispelled by the following notice:

> The Fall River Western Land Company had a meeting on Monday last, when $13,000 was paid in for the purchase of land in the West. A committee is now traversing the Western country to select and purchase land for this company. The company is composed of a number of enterprising gentlemen, whom we shall regret to lose, but doubt not, they will make a profitable investment of their money.[11]

One could hardly expect a group of Fall River wage-earners, whose earnings were generally much less than $1.00 per day, to band together in sufficient numbers to raise $13,000.

For the next twenty years there is but scattered mention of direct migration from Fall River though there are frequent general references to the process of settlement. Often these appear as reprints from New York and Boston papers and occasionally from a western paper. Sometimes an item showed the demand for labor in the West:

> Laborers and Mechanics Wanted West.—Two hundred laborers are wanted within 12 miles of Michigan City (Indiana) to work on grading the track of the railroad. Also 100 carpenters are wanted at the beautiful and healthy town of Washington, at the mouth of the Sac River, Wisconsin Territory.[12]

Sometimes advertisements of western lands appeared, offering liberal terms and aid to settlers. Here, for example, is the appeal of the American Land Agency Association:

> To Persons removing to the West, this Association offers the greatest facilities for making a judicious selection of a location and property, adapted to their wants and circumstances; *because*

[10] *Ibid.*, February 11, 1837.

[11] *Ibid.*, April 22, 1837.

[12] *Ibid.*, July 29, 1837.

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> we keep in all our offices a Register of Lands and Farms for sale, with a description of the improvements, surrounding circumstances and the price; and freely communicate to all inquirers information concerning the Soil, Climate, Productions, Roads, Population, Schools, and Religious Societies, and especially concerning the validity of the Title of any Property they be disposed to purchase. . . .[13]

There is, however, little to indicate whether or not these invitations were accepted.

The discovery of gold in California caused as much excitement in Fall River as it did everywhere else in the country. Many who had the means started out by boat to Panama or around the Horn or by wagons across the plains. The papers published the names of some of those who left. Unfortunately the city directory was not printed at that time so it is impossible to determine their occupation; but where the news stories themselves provide the clues, the migrants were not wage-earners but prominent business and professional men.[14]

A railroad consolidation brought unemployment to Fall River in the fifties:

> Among the changes consequent upon the union of the Old Colony and Fall River Railroads, we learn that the machine and repair shops of the road, at Fall River, will be discontinued, and the works are to be removed to South Boston, and joined to those of the Old Colony, now in operation on Dorchester Avenue. The number of hands which this change will throw out of employment here, is somewhere about twenty. Two of them, we understand, intend to go to Kansas.[15]

A later section will indicate why it was of Kansas that they thought. The present point is that two of the twenty workers definitely looked to the West to relieve their economic distress. A little later a notice appears of some people who were planning to leave Fall River, but nothing is told to let us know whether they are wage-earners or not:

[13] Advertisement in the *Fall River Monitor*, November 9, 1844.

[14] See below, pp. 81-83, for somewhat more satisfactory information concerning the Lowell and Boston participants in the Gold Rush.

[15] *Fall River News*, October 12, 1854.

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> The Western fever appears to have broken out again of late, and we hear of parties going from various places in New England to seek homes in the Far West. Quite a number of our citizens have recently removed to that section of the country, some to Illinois, some to Iowa, and some to Minnesota and Nebraska. Others are preparing to follow them soon. On Tuesday afternoon, in the Baptist Temple, Rev. A. Bronson delivered a solemn, affectionate address to a party (members of his church and congregation) who were about leaving for the West. . . .[16]

After the Civil War, there is constant mention of people leaving for the West. The two following items appeared in 1869:

> Mr. Frank McGraw, who lately left this city for Minnesota, in a recent letter to a friend here, expresses great satisfaction with his new home at Sauk Centre. He is now building a farm house, has 100 acres of timber and meadow land, 60 acres of Prairie, and 5 acres already under the plow.
>
> We have now received from Mr. E. F. Anthony a copy of Sauk Centre (Minnesota) Herald of Nov. 18th, from which we clip the following:
>
> "The family of E. F. Anthony arrived on Sunday evening from Fall River, Mass., accompanied by E. B. Anthony and wife, of the same place, Mr. James Brett of New Bedford, Mass., and Mr. A. B. Stinchfield of Lewiston, Me. Mr. E. B. Anthony and Mr. James Brett are interested in locating here. . . ."[17]

The Fall River directory for 1869 tells us that Frank McGraw was a bootmaker, E. F. Anthony a clerk, and E. B. Anthony a carpenter. This would seem to show that three wage-earners left Fall River for Minnesota. But, unfortunately, two items, one in 1870 and the other in 1871, seem to make their migration ineffective:

> Personal.—Mr. Enoch Anthony, who went from this city to Sauk Centre, Minnesota, last fall, with the intention of settling

[16] *Ibid.*, April 26, 1855.

[17] *Fall River Daily Evening News*, November 25, 1869.

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there, returned on Saturday evening, being unable to find employment.[18]

Personal.—Mr. Frank McGraw, who left this city for Minnesota, some two years ago, has returned with his family once more to take up his abode in our city of spindles. He has seen the Western elephant—had his head in its mouth—and returns abundantly satisfied with his experiences. We are glad to learn that his health has been greatly improved by his sojourn in Minnesota.[19]

Thus, two out of three who went from Fall River returned again.

In 1870 the following item appeared:

Personal.—Messrs. Henry Thomas and S. B. Chase, late clerks at the Merchants' Mill, George Holden, recently of the Day Police, Levi Greenwood and Edwin P. Elsree, all of this city, start to-night for the Far West, with a view, should matters seem favorable, of settling in that section of our country. Messrs. Thomas and Chase will probably proceed as far as Nebraska; Messrs. Holden and Greenwood turn their steps toward the healthy and growing State of Minnesota, while Mr. Elsree, having a roving commission, will probably make his *base* on the most advantageous portion of the field, and catch his claims "on the fly". We wish them all health and happiness, and just as much of this world's wealth as they can make use of.[20]

Fortunately, later issues enable us to trace all but one individual of this group. The first case is a success story, as the following items indicate:

Personal.—Messrs. Henry Thomas and S. P. Chase, late clerks at the Merchants' Mill of this city, write home from Plattsmouth, Nebraska in glowing terms of the growth and prosperity of that locality. The Nebraska *Herald,* published at Plattsmouth, gives the young men the following friendly notice:

[18] *Ibid.*, January 10, 1870.

[19] *Ibid.*, December 12, 1871.

[20] *Ibid.*, May 2, 1870.

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"Mr. Henry Thomas and Mr. S. P. Chase, of Fall River, Mass., arrived in our city last week with a view to establish themselves here. They were connected with the Merchants Manufacturing Company, and come well recommended to business men. We hope they will be able to suit themselves here, as they are the style of men we like to see commence business in our city." [21]

Personal.—The Nebraska Herald of the date of July 18th, published at Plattsmouth, contains the following notice of our young friends, Messrs. S. B. Chase and Henry Thomas, late clerks at the Merchants' Mill in this city.

"We would call attention to the advertisement of Chase & Thomas, commission merchants and dealers in grain. They have only been in our city a few months, but in that short time they have established a reputation for straightforward dealing that they may feel proud of. We learn that they intend making quite a specialty of selling grain on commission, thus giving the farmer the benefit of the market. They will advance money on consignment." [22]

If Messrs. Thomas and Chase succeeded, we find their success balanced by the failure of Holden and Elsree. Shortly afterwards, the ballplayer is back in Fall River:

Mr. Edwin P. Elsree the well known baseballer and bill poster who went out West on a "Fly" a few weeks ago, returned to his "home base" this morning. We are not "posted" as to the reasons for his return.[23]

A few years later, Mr. Holden of the Day Police also returns:

Personal.—Mr. George Holden, formerly of the police force of this city, and Mr. Joseph Borden, son of Dean Borden, both arrived here yesterday with their families, from Minnesota. Mr. Holden has been absent about four years, and Mr. Borden a somewhat longer period, we believe. Both have come back, we understand, with the intention of remaining East.[24]

Somewhat similar stories are found in the Fall River papers concerning the emigration from other New England communi-

[21] *Ibid.*, May 20, 1870.
[22] *Ibid.*, August 4, 1870.
[23] *Ibid.*, June 6, 1870.
[24] *Ibid.*, April 18, 1874.

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ties of men who were either definitely or presumably wage-earners. Again, they appear in the news because they failed and returned home:

> Several Wareham laborers who went West in search of employment have returned, wiser but sadder and poorer men.[25]
>
> As is usual in the settlement of new regions, the emigrants to the Black Hills find it a hard road to travel. Of the party of twenty three young men from New Haven, twenty have returned, some being compelled to travel the distance from Deadwood City on foot. By this time they ought to be expert pedestrians, and their experiences may deter future foolish romancers from trying a new rough country without capital, courage or that practical knowledge so necessary in fighting nature in her wild condition.[26]

Of the considerable group of migrants referred to in these items, a significant number of the wage-earners returned. On the other hand, in a contrast that may well have been typical, a story of success is told of two men who had money enough to open a business and apparently the benefit of previous commercial experience.

A brief but significant notice appears in 1871:

> Chicago-Colorado Colony.—Mr. C. N. Pratt, agent of the Chicago-Colorado Land Company, will lecture at the Hall of the Y. M. C. Association this evening. An admission fee of ten cents will be charged to defray expenses.[27]

Fortunately the records of this colony have been preserved and published.[28] From them we learn that a number of Fall River people had joined the organization even before the occasion of Mr. Pratt's lecture. In the list of members that paid the first five dollar installment of a $155 fee are thirty names from Fall River; and the city directory indicates that most of these people

[25] *Ibid.*, May 8, 1876.

[26] *Ibid.*, August 15, 1877. [27] *Ibid.*, March 16, 1871.

[28] *Experiments in Colorado Colonization*, edited by J. F. Willard and C. B Goodykoontz, University of Colorado Historical Collection, vol. 3 (Boulder 1926).

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were employees in the textile mills, though a few merchants and independent artisans were also included. This does not mean, however, that all of them succeeded in raising the rest of the money or persevered in the intention to move to Colorado. From the published extracts from the account books, it appears that only thirteen of the thirty either made further payment on their fees or actually arrived at the new settlement. In any case, the city directory shows that twenty of the original thirty, including no less than ten of the thirteen who really went, were again living in Fall River in 1878. A later section will discuss this sort of organized migration in some detail. Here it is essential merely to note that, though this is the largest movement to the frontier that we have found among the wage-earners of Fall River, yet only three men can be accounted for as having definitely remained in the West.

By contrast, the items regarding the migration of business and professional men have a very different ring, as the following examples indicate:

> Personal.—Milton Andros, Esq., formerly of this city, but for the last ten years a resident of San Francisco, where he is engaged in the successful practice of law, arrived here yesterday morning on a brief visit. Mr. Andros went to California some ten years ago for his health, with the intention of remaining there but a few months, but he liked the country and its climate so well that he concluded to make the land his permanent home.[29]
>
> Personal.—We are informed that Mr. J. Alsopp, late of the firm of Mather and Alsopp, will leave to-morrow for California.[30]
>
> Personal.—We had a pleasant call this morning from Mr. A. N. Dix, formerly resident of this city, where he was well known as a wide awake and popular clothing dealer. Mr. Dix has been residing for the last 18 years in Iowa.[31]

A later item tells us that Mr. Dix is engaged in the grocery business in Iowa.[32]

[29] *Fall River Daily Evening News*, July 19, 1875.
[30] *Ibid.*, April 10, 1874.
[31] *Ibid.*, November 4, 1874.
[32] *Ibid.*, November 9, 1874.

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It would be possible to add many similar references but it is not with these classes that we are primarily concerned. On the other hand, we have presented every case between 1830 and 1880 in which wage-earners or those who might have been wage-earners are mentioned. It is, of course, entirely possible that poor and unknown mill workers might not have been considered worth mentioning so that their removal would have gone unnoticed. Such was the case of those who went to Colorado. Yet it seems unlikely that any important mass movement could have taken place without attracting some notice in the press. In particular we might expect that, if workers had withdrawn in sufficient numbers to have a marked effect upon the labor supply, some comment would have been made upon the fact in the discussions of labor controversies.

Here again Fall River provides a considerable body of evidence for testing the hypothesis. The town had a turbulent industrial history, with strikes every decade, and these received extended comment from diverse points of view. The *News* was friendly to the workers in the years preceding the Civil War, and a labor paper, *The Fall River Mechanic,* was published in 1844 and 1845. At the end of our period, moreover, Carroll D. Wright, then head of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, published an extensive report dealing with industrial relations in Fall River, Lowell and Lawrence. Yet neither these sources nor the more ordinary papers found any occasion for referring to the effects of the westward movement. A great variety of prescriptions were suggested for the ills of the workers but migration to the West does not appear among them. The nearest approach to it is a timid suggestion that farms in the vicinity might give employment to those thrown out of work by the depression of 1857. The *News* points out that the farmers might thus "relieve the city of at least five hundred of the unemployed, and by setting them to work in various ways, not only prevent much suffering and distress, but with actual and more equal benefit for themselves." [33] There was, however, no suggestion that the workers should go West and become farmers themselves.

[33] *Fall River News,* November 12, 1857.

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A more typical article, which the *News* quoted with approval from the *Worcester Palladium,* debates the issue between the appeal to the government for higher tariffs and the appeal to the employers for more enlightened policy:

> The Whig manufacturers have revived the old game of cutting down the wages of the operative. The year of the Presidential election is always a terrible time with manufacturers, and with the cutting down of their wages the operatives have to take a substantial share of Whig admonition upon the subject of *political duty.* A paper in their employ sums it up homily thus:
>
> "The long and short of the whole matter is, our government must protect our laborers, or they must make a government that will do it."

The *Palladium* continues by declaring that: "There is not, or rather, there ought not to be, the slightest necessity for cutting down the wages of the operatives in manufacturing establishments." Though business has its "ups and downs"; "a wise and prudent forecast, if exercised, would be always prepared." The employers, however, did not think of laying aside "a portion of their profits for a day like this"; instead they have in good years

> not only made dividends from 10 to 25 per cent on their capital, but have expended all their surplus funds in extending and enlarging old establishments, and in erecting new ones. Avaricious, they have grasped all the profits, when they were enormous; and now they ought to be generous and share with their operatives the little burthens which a temporary pressure upon their business may impose.

As for the operatives, the moral is drawn that they "must look to their employers for a little more wisdom and prudence in their management, rather than to the government, for an improvement in their conditions." [84]

The labor paper, naturally, offers very different recommendations. If wages were lowered, the remedy was to strike. If

[84] *The Worcester Palladium,* as quoted by the *Fall River News,* February 17, 1848.

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the workers lost, as they often did, the thing to do was to go back to work and prepare for the next "campaign". The attitude is typified in a letter written to the labor paper after the loss of the ten-hour strike:

> Perhaps some of your Association whose temperament is ardent, may feel discouraged because they have not gained their point before this time. What war ended in one campaign? Year after year they enter the battle field ere they win the laurels of victory. Are the mechanics of Fall River to expect victory without conflict? If they do, they have mistaken the character of the power, and the cunning of their opponents. One thing has been done, if nothing more, a faithful protest against oppression has been made. Some advantages have been obtained. Every artisan, if he knew his rights, would nail the ten hour flag to the mast and not permit it to be taken away, until these hours were established as the hours of labor. Another advantage has been gained, the light has been shed abroad and those tools of the employers and those recreant to their pledges, *the long hour men* will feel the galling yoke of bondage which they have submitted to wear for a few cents. . . .
>
> It strikes me that the influx of mechanics brought to this place through bribery, or misrepresentation, is another difficulty in the way of your success. There is nothing manly in these men who remain and labor long hours after they see what the mechanic has to contend with. They came to this town like a company of soldiers, to put down white niggers. Shame be to them! Without them the employers could not subdue us! When they leave town this fall, I would advise them to march to the steamboat headed by the Algerine deacon with the black flag, with the following motto upon it, "We, the long hour men, have crushed the ten hour system in Fall River." A drum and fife ought to lead the way, playing the dead march. If the ten hour system fails, it may be attributed chiefly to those mechanics who have come to this town and work long hours.[85]

Neither in this nor in other cases does the labor press refer to the possibility of movement to the West either as a threat to the employers or as a danger to the permanence of the trade unions. Men who spoke of themselves as "white niggers" did not seem to be writing like people with alternatives.

[85] *The Fall River Mechanic*, June 29, 1844.

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Carroll Wright's report is in large measure devoted to explaining the existence of this spirit. In trying to determine why the labor movement in Fall River was more violent than those of Lawrence and Lowell, he traced the industrial history of the three communities. He spoke of the differences in the kinds and qualities of the goods produced. He contrasted the degree of interest which the owners took in actual management in the three cases. He mentioned also the fact that some people in Fall River complained that foreigners were responsible for all their troubles; English weavers, they said, had come over with their strange notions of trade unionism and corrupted the native labor supply. But nowhere does Mr. Wright himself, nor anyone who was interviewed in the course of the investigation, speak of the presence or absence of westward migration as affecting the supply of labor or as accounting for these contrasts in industrial relations.

Whatever may be concealed in the gaps of the record, the available material from Fall River fails to disclose evidence of an extensive migration of wage-earners to the frontier. The little movement that can be traced, moreover, shows a somewhat unexpected result. If we include the "clerks at the Merchants' Mill" and other doubtful cases, we have the record of twenty men who might have been wage-earners and who went West in the period after the Civil War. Of these, at least fourteen returned like the "baseballer" to their "base" in Fall River. The grateful dentist succeeded, but of these others who also "marched to the music of the [factory] bell", seven out of ten appeared to have failed.

Other Evidence from the East

The material from other eastern cities is scantier than that presented from Fall River but is in general of much the same tenor. Even for Lowell, Massachusetts, the show town of the American industrial revolution so often described by contemporary visitors, both the newspapers and other accounts yield mainly negative evidence. When the *Lowell Mercury* in 1832 had occasion to compare conditions of mill workers in the United States and England, and praised the relative free-

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dom of the American, it explained the difference not by the existence of an economic alternative but by the fact that the "workingmen, the mechanics can decide by their vote every question in town meeting." [36] There is, however, one item from the *Working Man's Advocate* which appears at first sight to give evidence both of the "escape" of wage-earners and of the resulting effect upon conditions in the mills:

> Raising of Wages—It will doubtless be recollected by most of our readers, that last March the wages of the Female Operatives in the factories at Lowell were reduced from 15 to 25 per cent. The consequence was that a large number of the old experienced help left, and the owners were obliged to fill up their mill with raw hands from the country, many of whom had never seen a Cotton Mill before. All this was done during the "distressing times" last winter, when the stockholders of these monopolies were making a clear profit on the investment of TWELVE per cent.
>
> We have been informed by a gentleman who resides in Lowell that the owners have learned by trying the "experiment", the difference between old, experienced operatives and raw hands and for the purpose of drawing them back have raised their wages up to the old standard.—(N. E. Art.) [37]

The last sentence suggests that these "female operatives" could not have gone very far away, and the question where they did go is in all probability answered by the fuller report of a later incident:

> Correspondence to the Tribune
> Lowell, Massachusetts, April 26.
>
> Messrs. Greeley & McElrath:
>
> The Directors of the Suffolk Cotton Mills in this city have decided to stop making cloth at the present ruinous prices, and have to-day given notice to 500 persons employed by the company that the services of one half their number must be forthwith dispensed with. It is stated, on good authority, that a similar disposition will be made of those employed by the

[36] *Lowell Mercury*, March 20, 1832.

[37] *Working Man's Advocate*, October 11, 1834.

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> "Boott", "Tremont", and "Massachusetts" Cotton Mills, which corporations employ 500 persons and represent a capital of $3,500,000. . . .
>
> The stopping of so many mills will have a serious effect upon the business community and upon the dividends of such as are unfortunate enough to own stock in them, but there will be no suffering, no crime, no riots on the part of the discharged operatives. The females, a large part of whom are daughters of New England farmers, will quietly return to their country homes, and the men will seek employment elsewhere, some as farmers in New England; some will go West, and others will follow their numerous friends who have preceded them in California.[88]

If the women went home, there is nevertheless an indication that some of the men went West, at least in the California Gold Rush. During this time the Lowell papers, like those of Fall River, often give the names of the local emigrants but usually without indicating their occupations. One item describes a party which clearly contained no wage-earners:

> The Magnolia . . . takes with her a full cargo of merchandise assigned to Messrs. Simmons, Hutchinson & Co., a house established at San Francisco for extensive brokerage and commission business by Capt. Simmons and Mr. Hutchinson. . . . The party is not a party of gold hunters; probably none of them will go to the diggings. Capt. Simmons is the owner of a large tract in and near the city of San Francisco, purchased on a former visit to that country. Dr. White has gone out to practice his profession of medicine, and Mr. Billings to establish himself in the practice of law in which he has been bred.[89]

An item reprinted in a western paper does give grim evidence that one employee of a Lowell mill did reach the mines:

> Execution of a Lowell Immigrant in California.—We hear that accounts were received by the last mail from California of a lynching at the mines, in which Mr. Jonathan Pillsbury, formerly employed by the Massachusetts and Appleton Corpora-

[88] *New York Tribune*, April 29, 1850.

[89] *Lowell Journal and Courier*, January 22, 1849.

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> tion, in this city, and two others lost their lives. The three were charged with having murdered and robbed a man, and were summarily hung. Mr. P. was on the point of taking the steamer at San Francisco for home, when an officer arrested him, and took him back to the mines. . . (*Lowell Courier*).[40]

During this time it was "quite impossible", as a Lowell paper remarked, "to keep run of every company or association contemplating an expedition to the Pacific Coast. Every seaport and almost every city and town in New England, is sending out large numbers".[41] It is, of course, harder to "keep run" of them today. A number of scattered bits of evidence, however, give indication of the variety of people who set out. A characteristic item refers to a Holyoke group which required $500 from each of its members. "The young men comprising the company", it is noted, "are of the first respectability and full of life and vigor."[42]

More comprehensive evidence on the composition of these companies is given in Octavius Thorndike Howe's *Argonauts of '49*. In one case he finds it possible to cite figures:

> The first vessel to sail from Boston with a regularly organized company was the ship *Edward Everett,* carrying the Boston and California Joint Stock Mining and Trading Company. About the middle of December, 1848, a number of young men met in a room in Exchange Street, Boston, and organized a company for the Gold Coast, with Henry Smith, of Boston as captain and president. They limited their number to one hundred and fifty and in a short time their ranks were full. The company was the best organized and most representative of any that left Massachusetts during the gold exictement. It consisted of one clergyman, four doctors, eight whaling captains, a mineralogist, a geologist, fifteen professional men, including medical and divinity students, a number of merchants, farmers, manufacturers, and seventy-six mechanics.[43]

[40] *Northwestern Gazette*, Galena, Ill., August 22, 1852.

[41] *Lowell Daily Journal and Courier*, February 2, 1849.

[42] *Ibid.*, January 18, 1849.

[43] Octavius Thorndike Howe, *Argonauts of '49* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 47.

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Another passage describes the Bunker Hill Company which bought the ship *Paulina* " for four thousand dollars, fitted her up and provisioned her for eighteen months. They were mostly mechanics but not without means as their capital stock of fifteen thousand dollars was all paid in." [44]

These scattered items indicate that a considerable number of mechanics left New England for California during the Gold Rush. Yet it is significant to note that Mr. Howe speaks of the members of the Bunker Hill group as " not without means ". We may suspect, therefore, that many of them were artisans or foremen of a higher " respectability " than the " run of the mill " wage-earners.

As for migration in less exciting times, the remaining evidence from the East gives little indication of wage-earner participation. Miss Vera Shlakman, who is preparing a history of the industrial town of Chicopee, Massachusetts, under the auspices of the Council of Industrial Studies of Smith College, has kept this question in mind during her researches. In addition to certain notices of the migration of people who were clearly not wage-earners, she finds references, without occupational identification, to nine persons leaving for Iowa in 1855,[45] and ten starting for California in 1865,[46] and also a statement that a party of eight or ten mechanics including two overseers left the neighboring city of Holyoke for Wisconsin in 1855.[47] In one case, there is even the record of a departure fittingly celebrated. According to the *Springfield Republican* of May 30, 1858, a man who had worked for twelve years for the Dwight Manufacturing Company, proprietors of a Chicopee cotton mill, was presented with a telescopic rifle when he gave up his job to go West. But there is no indication, either in the local or Springfield papers, in the diary of a local resident, or in other contemporary records, of any westward movement of wage-earners substantial enough to have had any marked effect upon the industrial life of the area.

In the New York press, it is again possible to find fairly frequent reference to the emigration of classes other than east-

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[45] *Springfield Republican*, May 21, 1855.

[46] *Ibid.*, May 17, 1868.

[47] *Ibid.*, March 23, 1855.

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ern wage-earners. In the early thirties, for example, an extensive movement to Texas was reported, and the Texas and Rio Grande Land Company offered excellent terms in a series of advertisements in the New York papers:

> Terms (Cash) 200 acres of fine prairie land, $35, which will also include a passage for one individual; and any further quantity of land of the same character will be sold, until the end of January, at a rate of 10 cents an acre. Parties will have their lands surveyed and granted to them, by government commissioners and surveyors, without any charges.
>
> Families belonging to purchasers of the Company's lands are carried out in the vessels chartered by the Company at 15 dollars for a man; 10 dollars for a wife or sister; the same for boys under 14 years of age, and 5 dollars for all under that age (except infants.) Nothing charged for a moderate amount of freight. Parties find their own provisions.[48]

Yet a contemporary letter from Texas indicates that it was for the most part not wage-earners who were taking advantage of these opportunities: "In the first settlement of Texas, the population were mere adventurers—many seeking a residence as an asylum—at present the emigrants are wealthy, educated farmers and professional men, physicians and lawyers, affording in every neighborhood a circle of intelligence and decorum." [49]

A still more characteristic item mentions the departure of "a fine collection of Germans, men, women and children, who recently arrived in this country [and] who left this city for the West, some for Illinois, some for Missouri, and some for Wisconsin." [50] Quotation after quotation could be set down to illustrate the westward movement of foreigners, but no comparable collection could be made to illustrate any similar migration of American wage-earners. In spite of Horace Greeley's lifelong interest in promoting such a movement, a prolonged search through his writings in the *Tribune,* as the

[48] Advertisement in the *New York Commercial Advocate,* January 27, 1835.

[49] *New York Spectator,* November 27, 1834.

[50] *American Sentinel* as quoted by the *New York Evening Post,* August 14, 1838.

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previous article pointed out, yielded definite mention of only one "industrious mechanic" who had actually gone to the West.

The Difficulties of Migration

Though the eastern papers thus appear to contain relatively few direct references to the sources of the westward movement, they do nevertheless provide a considerable body of secondary evidence. In addition to their frequent declarations that workers should go West, which were illustrated at length in the preceding article, they contain also a lesser but still large number of statements to the effect that it was very hard or even impossible for workers to take this advice. These latter items are no more proof that the wage-earners did *not* go to the frontier than the former are that they *did* go. They are, nevertheless, worth citing as an introduction to a discussion of the difficulties in the way of working-class migration and of certain organized attempts to overcome these obstacles.

"The difficulty in thousands of cases", as a letter to the *Tribune* put it, "is that they cannot obtain the means of going West." [51] In the days before the passage of the Homestead Act, this complaint is naturally associated with demands for "a reform in the manner of disposing of the public lands." [52] A letter to *The Voice of Industry* lays the trouble to speculative prices:

> And what is the effect of this land speculation on the community? I hardly ever knew a journeyman or a day laborer to earn enough at any common business to buy a farm at speculative prices. There are thousands in want of profitable employment who have no way to procure an honest living, and cannot get money enough to pay for the privilege of using an acre of good, well cultivated land.[53]

Another item from the same paper repeats the complaint and adds the suggestion of a remedy:

[51] *New York Tribune*, April 26, 1847.

[52] *The National Laborer*, Philadelphia, August 27, 1836.

[53] *The Voice of Industry*, November 5, 1847.

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> It will do well for one who has the help of a few hundred dollars of capital in warding off starvation, to talk about the ease with which every man may get a good living in this country, and may earn a farm. But it is quite a different thing to have a family to support on the hand to mouth principle, and save the first hundred dollars. The chances are that the most frugal and industrious man, who has a family to rear on his own labors will grow poorer instead of richer in the struggle.—Why will it not be best to vote every such man at once a place to make such a farm on?[54]

At about the period of these last quotations, the *Tribune* tells the story of an enterprising group of workmen who proposed to overcome this difficulty for themselves by squatting on unsettled lands:

> Westward Ho! A fine body of working Men in our city, mainly Germans by birth—but in part English and Americans, have united in an engagement to migrate together to some portion of the unsettled and probably unsurveyed public land of the Far West, (not being able to buy lands), intending to settle in a cluster, improve and cultivate until the not distant day, when it shall no longer be a misdemeanor to settle to live—if not where he happens to be, then somewhere else. They agree to have $100 each to start with, about half of which will be consumed by the expenses of the journey. Some who wish to join them are destitute, or have far less than $100, and an appeal is made to the philanthropic to aid them by gift or loan to get away, and thus relieve the pressure upon the Labor Market in our City. Whoever is disposed to aid them or to learn further of their plans, is earnestly solicited to call upon Mr. William Trautwein, 189 Bowery.[55]

It should be noted, however, that the necessity of raising money for even such a minimum of expenses appeared as a serious obstacle and as the occasion for a plea for philanthropic aid.

It is therefore not altogether surprising to find that references to the difficulties of the movement did not cease to appear even after the Homestead Act had removed the barrier of the

[54] *Ibid.*, April 10, 1846.

[55] *New York Tribune*, April 26, 1847.

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price of land. One writer, indeed, made the flat statement after some twelve years of the law's operation that it had been "a failure and a delusion" and had done nothing to promote the movement of "the toiling masses":

> Most prominent of the legacies bequeathed to the country by Mr. Greeley is the Homestead Law. But I must do his memory the justice of saying that in his zealous and persistent advocacy of the Homestead Law, he believed that he was serving the "toiling millions" for whose prosperity and elevation, he ever labored. And yet how few, how very few, of these "down-trodden millions" ever possessed themselves of what he regarded as the greatest boon and blessing. The Homestead Law, so far as its most popular feature is concerned, has proved a failure and a delusion. Things which cost nothing are slightly valued. There would have been a larger number of settlers growing up in industry and developing into usefulness and prosperity, as farmers, mechanics, and artisans, under the law which furnished lands from the public domain to actual settlers at $1.25 per acre, than has been secured under the plausible Congressional idea of "voting every man a farm." [56]

Although the paper that Greeley founded continued to insist that the legislation had solved the problem, and although an impassioned editorial inspired by the railroad strike of 1877 described the "Homestead Law" as "the imperishable barrier which the United States [had] raised between free labor and oppression" [57] at the very time that Samuel Gompers was expressing the new viewpoint of labor by "ridiculing the advice of engineers and firemen to go West",[58] the columns of the *Tribune* itself carried frequent references to the persistence of the difficulty. One vigorous statement of it appears as a direct answer to an editorial on the familiar theme:

[56] *New York Tribune*, February 20, 1875.

[57] *Ibid.*, August 7, 1877. See also editorial of June 3 of the same year referring to the "thousands" of dwellers in eastern industrial centers who had "found homes, permanent labor and sure subsistence in these Western lands."

[58] *Ibid.*, July 27, 1877. "They were not farmers, but men who stuck to their engines and trains. All that they wanted was that they should have a voice in fixing the terms for which they should work, so as to obtain such wages as would enable them to support their families."

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To the Editor of the Tribune:

Sirs; In your issue of Saturday, the Editorial "The End of It", points the way, but where shall this "surplus population" get the means to go to farming? It is evident that could these congregated laborers be placed on farms of their own, or with farmers needing their labor, a vast amount of misery and vice could be prevented, and one phase of the labor question would be in a fair way of solution. But they have absolutely no way of paying for transportation to the government lands of the West, much less the necessary experience for even a brief stay after getting there.

In this vicinity are one hundred families (one eighth of the population), carpenters, masons, tinners and laborers who would gladly change a poorly paid, half employed, aimless life, for that one pointed out by you next door; but with no money, with less and less employment as weary months roll by, with children growing up to idleness, and with the hope of better times and steadier employment, longer and longer deferred, what is a man to do—and the pitiless winter neither so far away?

The "Go West" theory is good as far as a theory; that great empire has been developed by those who acted upon the advice of the Tribune's founder; but in practice here and now, it is the error of errors to offer it as the panacea for all the troubles under which the penniless mechanics and laborers of our land are struggling. Could not the problem be solved by an appropriation of Congress which would enable some thousands, even, of these sad faced men to locate on the cheap but fertile lands indicated by you? . . .

W. S. Vincent.

Towanda, Pa.[59]

The final suggestion, moreover, had already been embodied in resolutions passed at workingmen's meetings during the preceding summer:

A local meeting was held last night at No. 224 Grand-st., to make preparations for the mass meeting at Cooper Institute on Wednesday, and for the parade on the next day. . . . Resolutions offered by William West were adopted, demanding the opening of the public lands exclusively for the actual cultivator,

[59] *Ibid.*, August 18, 1877.

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> and the loaning of the means for transportation and purchase of implements and provisions, and the passage of the Banks Bill for enlarging the scope of the Homestead Act. . . .[60]

These statements emphasized, and these proposals were intended to overcome, the obstacle of the expense of migration; but a number of other items suggested the presence of a further difficulty that would have been harder to remove by legislation. Again it is a letter to the editor that states the point most vigorously, and this time a man brought up in a pioneer community in western New York argues that a man who has worked all his life in a factory or shop is not likely to succeed in running a farm:

> Sir: I observe "C. H.'s" article in your issue of the 24th inst. in which he invites answers to his question about farming. He may think that farming may be carried out with all pleasantness, but he will learn a lesson that he has never experienced by trying it a few years. Farming to make a success of it needs experience as well as any other business. Farming on paper and book learning may seem pleasant and easy, but the reality to a means is experience, adaptability, proper care, good order, tools in all times in order, all things done in their proper time. . . .
>
> . . . This picture of a farm doubtless looks very pleasant to my city friend "C. H." for really to one not experienced it would seem that the farmer raised everything needed to make himself and family comfortable and happy. Does he think he could manage this farm successfully, stepping from city to farm? The experienced farmer only succeeds well. . . .[61]

In this case, the *Tribune* itself had shown its recognition of the difficulty. As early as 1857, an editorial writer had directed the following warning to a "Working-Man" who had some money and intended to turn farmer:

> Farming is a vocation, requiring knowledge, experience, and skill, like any other. No man born and reared in the city can remove to a farm at thirty or forty years of age and become

[60] *Ibid.*, August 8, 1876. A similar item appears the next day.

[61] *Ibid.*, March 10, 1877.

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> immediately an efficient, thrifty, successful farmer. He will have much to learn and something to unlearn, and if he gets through his first year of farming without using up $500 of his capital, he may consider that he has done well.[62]

When an agricultural writer for the *Tribune,* George Geddes, looked back over the history of migration from the vantage point of 1878, this obstacle appeared to him to have been almost insurmountable:

> Very few cases can be shown of success in farming achieved by men who never lived on a farm, and who went directly from city life, depending entirely on the work of their hands, guided by uninstructed minds. Boys, brought up on a farm to the age of twelve or fifteen years, have gone to the cities, been successful there, and in after life have become successful and even model farmers. But they had the knowledge acquired in early life, and their capital derived from some other business, to pay for the mistakes they might make, while learning more. . . .[63]

Perhaps the fate of the fourteen migrants who returned to Fall River may be attributed to this difficulty, and a later section will provide what appears to be a further illustration.[64] As for the obstacle of cost, a well-known passage from Professor Paxson's *History of the American Frontier* lists the essential items involved:

> Every homeseeker needed means to get his wagon and team to buy his simple outfit for operating the home and farm, and to maintain himself and his family while on the journey. . . After raising funds to cover the cost of migration and to make the initial payment on the land, there still remained the necessity to support the family until the crops could be extracted from the reluctant soil. The first harvest can rarely have done this for the number of acres that could be cleared, planted and cultivated in the first season was small. There are many estimates that show that the cost of getting a crop into the land for th

[62] *Ibid.*, April 8, 1857.

[63] *Ibid.*, "Farmer's Extra", Supplement, 1878, p. 7.

[64] See below, pp. 98-100.

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first time might be twice or thrice what the land itself might bring when unimproved.[65]

Of these, the payment on the land might be avoided after the Homestead Act, though even then it was often wiser policy to buy better-situated land in private hands.[66] In some cases, contemporary statements make it possible to fill in approximate figures for certain of these expenses. A number of references specify the cost of transportation, and it seems probable that the average varied between $25 and $45 per person, depending on the period, the route, the presence or absence of rate wars, and the distance traveled.

Two contemporary estimates attempt to cover the entire range of items involved in the process of settlement. One is a calculation, published in 1843 by an English traveler named William Oliver, of the cost of making a start on the Illinois frontier. For the trip from New York to St. Louis, he stated the expenses as follows: by way of Philadelphia and Pittsburg, $41.50 to $58 with meals and $13 to $20 without meals; by way of Albany and Buffalo, $16 to $21 without meals.[67] For building and equipping the house and for buying and breaking in the land and stocking the farm, his estimates were as follows:

House	$ 439.77½
Farm	1277.60
Total	$1717.37½ [68]

In spite of the half-cents, these are obviously figures of pioneering *de luxe*. Very likely the Englishman counted in items of equipment that would have appeared superfluous to the ordinary American, and the estimates include some $1100 for the

[65] F. L. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier* (New York, 1924), p. 227.

[66] "Generally it was preferable to pay $400. or more for a quarter-section close to a railroad than go back into the hinterland and haul everything great distances over the worst of roads." F. A. Shannon, *Economic History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1934), p. 438.

[67] William Oliver, *Eight Months in Illinois*, with *Information to Immigrants* (Chicago, 1924), pp. 224-228. (Original edition, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1843.)

[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 243-247.

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cost of labor, almost all of which the poorer settler and his family would perform themselves. Yet in this case they would need subsistence till the crops came in and certain additional equipment for clearing and breaking the land, which Mr. Oliver estimated as costing a further $157.50. Thus it would be hard by any revision of the figures to reach a total below six hundred dollars.

A second estimate is for a more representative settler at a later period:

The cost of transportation for husband, wife, and say two children, will be at the minimum,	$100.00
Two oxen, with yoke, at least,	100.00
One wagon, at least,	100.00
Six months of provision, at 50 cents a day, to last until the first crops are gathered in, not less than,	90.00
Farming implements, necessary,	150.00
Seeds for first crop,	100.00
One cow,	50.00
	$690.00 [69]

Since this is after the passage of the Homestead Act, no item is included for payment on the land; but this estimate, nevertheless, like most of those that have been recorded, falls in the range between five hundred and a thousand dollars.

The figures as well as the complaints, then, suggest that the cost of settlement may well have been a serious obstacle to the migration of industrial workers even when land itself was free. Though Professor Paxson points out that many of those who went to the frontier must have made their way by borrowing, there can be little doubt that it was harder for wage-earners than for most other classes either to save the money themselves or to find "some obliging neighbor or relative" to take "their notes" and provide them with funds.[70] There were, however, certain definite attempts to overcome this difficulty and that of the workers' lack of farm experience through the resort to group colonization sometimes supported by philan-

[69] *Experiments in Colorado Colonization*, edited by James F. Willard and Colin B. Goodykoontz (Boulder, 1926), p. 30.

[70] F. L. Paxson, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

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thropic funds. The next section, accordingly, will examine the records of organized migration to see whether they yield evidence of a more extensive movement of wage-earners.

Organized Migration

If distance and cost and unfamiliarity tended to check the movement of the eastern poor to the western lands, there were on the other hand, as has been pointed out, certain contemporary attempts to overcome these obstacles. Frequent letters to the *Tribune* suggested that philanthropy was needed to accomplish the transfer of the unemployed to the West, and the Citizens Association set up a Labor Bureau to direct them to the rural areas.[71] These intentions took more tangible form in the provision of charitable aid for the migration of certain classes of the population and in the organization of a number of colonies in which mutual aid—and sometimes philanthropic assistance as well—were to overcome the difficulties of settlement.

Direct aid to migration was apparently most often given to groups who were only potential wage-earners or on the borderline of wage-earning. In point of numbers, the most substantial activity was that of the Children's Aid Society in placing orphans or part orphans from the East in the homes of western farmers. Between 1854 and 1880, the Society sent out an average of over two thousand children a year to a total of 59,481;[72] and the bearing of this activity on our problem is suggested by a contemporary reference to these companies of "boys and girls, in need of homes, who will find good ones where they are going and eventually become farmers themselves, instead of beggars, or criminals, or poor mechanics out of work and suffering in the city."[73]

Women, also, frequently went West under organized auspices. A notice in the mid-thirties indicates the nature of the movement:

> Female Emigration.—The St. Louis Daily Herald of the 10th, states that a company of "industrious, capable and intelligent" young women are about to start from Northampton,

[71] *New York Tribune*, June 4, 1868; April 2, 1870.

[72] *Ibid.*, November 24, 1880.

[73] *Ibid.*, January 13, 1855.

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> Mass. for the valley of the West. They are (says the Herald) needed as school teachers, to fill the various mechanical employments, which are the province of their sex, and above all, are needed as sweeteners of the toil and hardships of our young men, who now, in great numbers, are laboring in unblessed loneliness, over the vast domains of the West. These young women come out under the protection of a gentleman, and we do not hesitate, in the name of all that is pure and lovely, to promise them a hearty welcome from all classes of our fellow citizens.[74]

During the forties, Governor Slade of Vermont made a practice of conducting groups of New England girls to the West to become teachers. Thus one of many notices records his arrival at Buffalo "accompanied by twenty-three young ladies, whom he is escorting to the Western States, where they will be employed as teachers"; [75] and it is estimated that he brought about one hundred girls a year to the West. Another characteristic notice quoted from an Iowa paper describes the "arrival of forty-one ladies" as causing "a great sensation." "Many of our newcomers", it boasted, "are genuine Yankees." This item was headed "Welcome at the West", and the nature of that welcome may be made clear by one more quotation:

> Yankee Girls Out West.—Prentice complains, in the Louisville Journal, that the Yankee girls who came out West do very little teaching. Instead of teaching other people's children, they soon get to teaching their own.[76]

The children and most of these women were only potential employees of eastern industry, but the depression of 1857 brought about the organization of the Women's Protective Emigrant Society with the definite purpose of promoting the migration of unemployed wage-earners. Horace Greeley, in one of his best moods, explained the occasion and the need:

> On another page is an appeal of the "Women's Protective Emigrant Society" to which the generous attention of the public

[74] *New York Commercial Advertiser*, June 25, 1835.
[75] *Lowell Daily Journal and Courier*, May 4, 1850, citing *Buffalo Republican*.
[76] *Fall River News*, November 16, 1848.

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may be directed. This society is just organized for the purpose of sending destitute young women and girls who are deprived of the means of obtaining their daily bread, to the Interior or the West, where they may find employment. It is not intended to do this without ample precaution and regularity. Indeed, a system is already devised for the purpose of fully carrying out the object as soon as means are obtained, the active promoters being likewise determined to go to work at once and do good in proportion to their limited means, trusting to the correct sentiment of the public to afford them rapidly an all-sufficient fund to perfect their scheme. No rhetoric can exaggerate the awful conditions of thousands, yes thousands—of respectable, industrious, virtuous girls in this metropolis whose wages are suddenly suspended, and who are left hopeless and helpless. It is estimated that there are no less than 7000 now ready to go West, because society has entirely withdrawn its succor from them. At best, they can earn but a pittance. A woman may be defined to be a creature who receives half price for all she does, and pays full price for all she needs. No hotel or boarding house here takes a woman at a discount of fifty per cent. Butchers, bakers, grocers, mercers, haberdashers,—all ask her the utmost penny. No omnibus carries her for a halfed sixpence. She earns as a child—she pays as a man. Besides her sex, if not barbarous custom, cuts her off from the best rewarded callings. . . . What, then, remains to be done? Simply individual action. Action prompt; action liberal, action abundant. There is no time to be lost. . . .[77]

The nature of the action is illustrated in the following item:

The Women's Protective Emigrant Society dispatched last evening a party of forty young women in charge of Miss Rich to Northern Indiana where Mr. Foster has procured good homes for them. The Society is now ready to receive others for Illinois, Indiana and other Western States, at its rooms, No. 29 Canal Street, where also contributions . . . will be thankfully received.[78]

[77] *New York Tribune*, December 14, 1857.

[78] *Ibid.*, December 21, 1857.

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Similar notices appeared, about two weeks apart, from November 10, 1857 to March 3, 1858; and during that time the Society appears to have sent out between 100 and 150 women a month.

A somewhat more substantial migration of wage-earners is indicated from time to time in the notices of the organized colonies and settlement associations which played an often forgotten part in the westward movement.[79] The course of one of these, which was organized by a New York City school teacher named Murphy, may be followed across the country in the papers of 1856. The *New York Tribune* records the plans for the start:

> The Minnesota Settlement Association, now numbering 127 members, will leave New York about the 15th of April. They will settle on government land at $1.25 per acre, and have some years to pay for it. Meetings every Wednesday Evening at No. 163 Bowery. All members are notified to come forward and pay their last installment on shares.[80]

A St. Paul paper notes the arrival in Minnesota:

> "Bound for Minnesota.—Monday evening's train from Chicago, brought three hundred men, women and children, from New York City to this place, bound for Minnesota Territory, where they intend to locate a town and make farm. The company is known as the Minnesota Settlement Association. They have among them farmers, mechanics, school teachers, printers and members of the theological and medical professions. Judging from their appearance, we should take them to be a very respectable and industrious class of men, amply supplied with the means to accomplish the objects they have in view.
>
> "The male portion of the company met Tuesday in the third story of Robinson & Co.'s store to attend to the purchase of

[79] The Fourieristic or Associationist colonies, together with those founded on the basis of religious communism, have because of their intrinsic interest received more rather than less attention than their numerical importance would warrant. The reference in the text is to the more loosely organized bodies formed to overcome the difficulties of migration and settlement but with the ultimate intention of purely individual ownership. It should be added that the article does not attempt to deal with the Mormon migration.

[80] An advertisement in the *New York Tribune*, March 19, 1856.

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stock, farming implements, &c, prior to leaving for Minnesota." (*Dubuque Republican*).

The company referred to above arrived on Saturday last upon the City Bell, and they immediately took passage on the steamer Reveille for Mankato. They intend laying out a town in Blue Earth County, which under their auspices cannot fail hereafter to be of some importance.[81]

Further details and a conclusion may be found in the *History of Blue Earth County*. Each member, it appears, had been charged a fee of ten dollars, and the Association had promised "cheap transportation West, an opportunity to preempt 160 acres of the best farm land; one lot in the town site, which was to be platted in the midst of the new settlement, which was certain of being a big town; and having a well settled community at once, instead of isolation incident to the ordinary pioneer life." But when the colonists arrived at the chosen site, and divided the land into claims of the promised size, they found that only 65 had sufficient timber. The sequel is told by the county historian:

Three of the head officers were allowed the first pick. The rest of the claims were numbered and divided by lot, but as there were 139 persons present entitled to claims, more than half the tickets were blanks. The result was a great dissatisfaction. Many who drew good claims were young men without families whose only purpose was speculation, while many heads of families drew blanks. A general row followed and much claim jumping. Most of the disappointed scattered. . . .

Soon after, the entire venture came to an ignominious end, for "the land was jumped in a short time by two enterprising claim hunters" and the section was finally settled by people from Wisconsin.[82]

Similar stories of disappointment appear frequently in the records, and one of the most significant is the case of another Minnesota colony in which it was specifically the urban workers that failed. In 1851 the *New York Tribune* reported that Mr.

[81] *Daily Pioneer and Democrat*, May 8, 1856.

[82] Thomas Hughes, *History of Blue Earth County, Minnesota* (Chicago, 1909), pp. 70-73.

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William Haddock, "a printer of this city", had given a lecture on behalf of the Western Farm and Village Association, which was to enroll from 150 to 200 persons, embracing "a proportional number from each of the ordinary professions" and offering them—as in the case of Mr. Murphy's organization—the opportunity of pioneering with "all the comforts of civilization, which could only be realized by settling in close proximity."[83] A fuller notice appeared in the *Tribune* several months later, declaring that its object was

> to settle on our Government's Lands in the West in such a manner that farmers, mechanics, manufacturers and merchants may possess the advantages of the first purchase of the land, without paying the higher prices which a crowded population creates, and at the same time enjoy all the advantages of an intelligent and industrious community. . . .
>
> Young farmers, mechanics, manufacturers, machinists and millwrights, in every State, of good habits, are invited to send their names, stating their profession, the quantity of land they wish to obtain . . . also the probable amount of Capital they will possess. . . .
>
> It is often asked how much money will be required. The answer must be, the more the better. Yet it is plain that men of small capital possess more advantages in this Association, as one sustains another, like a bundle of sticks. . . .[84]

Two years after the original announcement, a correspondent reported on the progress of the colony in Minnesota. "It has a select population", he said, "having twice been sifted; in the first place none but reputable persons being admitted; and none but the persevering ones staying. . . . Most of those who left were mechanics and artisans, principally from New York City, who knew nothing about farming or the wants of a new settlement."

The history of this second sifting was fortunately recorded by one of the original settlers, and the typewritten manuscript is preserved in the archives of the Minnesota Historical Society. The author had been an Indiana farmer attracted, like the other settlers, by the proposals "to form a colony of several hundred

[83] *New York Tribune*, July 24, 1851. [84] *Ibid.*, October 24, 1851.

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and perhaps a thousand or more, taking none but those of good character and good citizens, and locate in the West, on government lands, in a body, on a good navigable stream, if possible. They would survey out a village lot and a farm of 160 acres, choice to be drawn by lots." For our purposes, the most significant sections of the narrative are those which deal with "the city members of the Association" who were, as he said, "nearly all mechanics, and knew little or nothing about the country. They had little idea how difficult it was to find a locality very much resembling the one pictured in their imaginations." [85] In the new location, their troubles began promptly:

> We had to have lumber. It seemed that no one had made any effort to get any. The Association had published in their papers that as soon as they got word where their location was, there was to be sent on what they called the "Pioneer squad," consisting of a dozen or more able bodied men, mostly carpenters, to put up buildings and have them ready for the temporary use of those coming. They came there. They were nearly all city chaps; didn't seem to have any leader; knew nothing of pioneering; thought they could do nothing because they had no lumber, and it seems did nothing toward getting any. They sat around as though waiting for the lumber to come to them. They lived on mush and molasses. . . . The first arrivals of course found no shelter, and having women and children they had to leave, and naturally told hard stories about the place.

In this emergency, a neighbor of the author's went up the Chippewa River and floated down a load of lumber, and several other families from Indiana came to the settlement:

> We pitched in and put up a cabin for Iames on his lot, within a block or two of where Lord's lumber was landed. In a couple of days he was living in it. Wally Corywell had worked in a cooper's shop the winter before, and brought cooper's tools with him. Among those was a frow used to rive out barrel staves, shingles and shakes (long shingles). It came very handy. He rived out enough shakes to cover Iames' house, and

[85] *Experiences of E. M. Drew of the Western Farm and Village Association*, p. 1-2.

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> they made a good, rain-proof roof. Those unsophisticated city chaps, "The Pioneer Squad," and others too, looked with wonder on those Indiana fellows as they called us, put up a comfortable house so quickly with material found right there on the ground. They could then see what they might have done had they known how.[86]

A similar contrast appeared in the first farming:

> We were the only men of the colony who went on to a farm, and I think we were the only ones who had any breaking done on a farm the first season. . . . Nearly everybody tried to grow something or other on their city lots. Those that did not plow or get plowing done used the spade. Many spaded up ground for a garden. Some had quite good sized patches. It seemed as if all those city chaps had bought new Ames spades and garden seeds. Second-hand spades, as good as new, were cheap the latter part of the season, 50 cents being the regular price, while new Ames spades retailed everywhere for $1.25. They had learned that a spade was not much account for farming in a new country.[87]

A final comment sums up the author's opinions of the "city chaps" as colonists:

> A majority of the members of the "Western Farm and Village Association" were tradesmen, printers, tailors, lithographers, calico printers, designers of wall papers, etc. They knew very little else of work. Most of them, like Mr. Thorp, had some idea of gardening with a spade. As they had always lived in a city, they would get lost if they got out of sight of their shanties.[88]

If this story is a characteristic one, it tends to explain the cases of return from the West that were so conspicuous in the story of Fall River. In numbers, however, these early colonies were fairly insignificant; and the first case of large scale organized migration originated in the excitements of political history. When the Kansas-Nebraska Act applied to Kansas the doctrine of "squatter sovereignty", the anti-slavery advo-

[86] *Ibid.*, pp. 39-42.

[87] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

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cates of New England determined to take matters into their own hands and fill the territory with settlers who would vote to make it a free state. Under the leadership of Eli Thayer, they organized the New England Emigrant Aid Company, to whose stock many clergymen and philanthropic individuals, including such men of wealth as A. Amos Lawrence, were subscribers.[89] Similar or affiliated groups, such as the New York Kansas League, were organized in other centers. The ends, however, were not exclusively political. Mr. Thayer himself hoped that the Company would make profits through the operation of various enterprises and the increase of land values, and there is ample evidence that the settlers themselves were as much interested in economic advantages as in the slavery question. Letter after letter preserved in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society complains of poverty as both an obstacle and inducement to migration. The following is one of many examples:

Danby, Apr. 26, 56.

Mr. Barnes

Dear sir I write to you for informate & a circular in regard to Kansas. I have a strong desire to go West. I am a poor man & shall always be so here I am a miller by trade and am now receiving 30 dollars per month I would be very glad to go in May but dont know as I can as I have not the funds at present. . . .[90]

Another letter outlines the special advantages of settlement under the Company's auspices:

Allow me, Mr. Editor, to tell why I like the Company . . . and if I don't get it right, you or the agent here, can set me right. I like the Aid Company because under their auspices, a man can settle in Kansas with as little expense as he can settle himself upon the public lands of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa or Minnesota. . . .

[89] The story of its organization is perhaps best told in an article by Mr. S. A. Johnson on "The Genesis of the New England Emigrant Aid Company" in the *New England Quarterly*, vol. 3, January 1930, pp. 95-122.

[90] From the Barnes papers in the collection of the Kansas State Historical Society.

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> Again, there are no other public lands where I can locate myself and enjoy the institutions I left in New England. The mill, the school the church are planted after settlement is made in other places, and then not until the population will warrant their erection, and often not then. But here, under the auspices of the Society, we have the mill, the receiving house, the school house, the church, and the Sabbath-School—all within the first three months of our prairie life.
>
> If I left my Eastern home with sighs for anything, they were sighs for the institutions, the society, and friends of the East. But, to my surprise, I find the very institutions . . . which I left behind, already planted and maturing in our midst.[91]

The inducements were certainly substantial, and must have made a great appeal to people who could not or would not go under other conditions. By traveling in groups of thirty or more the settlers were able to obtain reduced railroad rates. Accommodations were to be provided for them while they selected their sites and built their new homes. Above all, they were to find at once a social life like that of their home communities, with churches, schools, stores and mills waiting for their arrival. No scheme of settlement offered more to overcome the obstacles that faced the city-bred wage-earner with little capital and without farm experience; it seemed, indeed, almost "tailor-made" to assist in his migration. News of the enterprise, moreover, was spread far and wide by the eastern press. If wage-earners ever went to the western lands, we should certainly expect to find them taking part in this movement. How many of them did so?

In this case, something of a quantitative answer is made possible by the preservation of many of the original documents

[91] *Herald of Freedom* (Lawrence, Kansas), January 27, 1855. Compare also the Company's own statement of the advantages: "The emigrant suffers wherever he goes alone into his new home. He suffers from the fraud of others, from his own ignorance of the system of travel and of the country where he settles; and again from his want of support from neighbors which results in the impossibility of any combined resistance or of any division of labor."—"History of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, with a Report on its Future Operations", published by order of the Board of Directors, Boston, 1862.

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in the collection of the Kansas State Historical Society.[92] Thus the Barnes papers make it clear that almost all of the emigrants sent out by the New York Kansas League came from the smaller agricultural communities of the state.[93] The New England Company, on the other hand, drew a significant proportion of its settlers from the industrial centers; and its more elaborate records yield the materials for a statistical analysis. In the collection are five of the six or seven "emigrant books" which were kept by the secretary and which contained the names of all the people who settled under the auspices of the Company. In all, some 3000 heads of families or independent individuals went to Kansas under its direction, and in 727 of these cases there remain records of their occupations in the home community. One hundred and four different callings are listed, and these we classified into four major groupings: farmers, business men, professionals, and a last group which contained both independent artisans and wage-earners and in which all doubtful cases were placed. The resulting distribution follows:

	Number	Per cent
Farmers	239	32.9
Business Men	71	9.8
Professionals	61	8.4
Independent workmen plus wage-earners	356	48.9
	727	100.0

It was from the last group that we had to attempt to pick out the wage-earners. In many cases, as the detailed list of 61 occupations indicates,[94] the term used could refer either to an

[92] Thanks must be given to Mr. S. A. Johnson of the Kansas State Teachers College at Emporia, who had gone through these papers, for pointing out to us those which would be most relevant to our study.

[93] William Barnes was secretary of the League. His records contain names and addresses of many migrants, but in only 54 cases give both residence and occupation. Of this small sample, 18 appear to have been either independent workmen or wage-earners.

[94] The following tabulation lists each of the occupations that is represented by four or more entries:

Blacksmiths	18	Carpenters	73	Coopers	4
Bootmakers	12	Carriage makers	4	Joiners	5
Butchers	4	Clerks	16	Laborers	13

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independent artisan or to a wage worker. Some light on the question, and on the general character of the migration, could be obtained by re-examining the list of occupations in terms of the communities in which they had been carried on. From this two obvious conclusions emerged. In the first place, there is virtually no evidence of anything like mass migration from particular centers of labor unrest. In the total list, 283 communities are represented; and 171 communities, only seven of which provided more than ten emigrants each, contained members of the group of independent artisans plus wage-earners. Conversely, the 73 carpenters, for example, came from 51 communities, and the migration of six of them from Salem is actually the nearest approach to a mass movement of members of a particular trade from a single town. In the second place, it is evident that a very large proportion of the migrants came from very small places.[95] The table on the following page gives their distribution by size of communities, for the cases in which this fact could be ascertained:

Lumbermen	12	Millwrights	4	Sailors	11
Machinists	29	Operatives	6	Shoemakers	33
Masons	4	Painters	11	Stone cutters	6
Mechanics	9	Printers	12	Tailors	5

The other occupations represented were bookbinder, bookkeeper, brass finisher, bridge builder, broom maker, chair maker, confectioner, currier, engineer, engraver, fireman, founder, gardener, gas(?), handle maker, pattern maker, rigger, sash maker, salesman, ship carpenter, ship joiner, shipwright, shoe fitter, slater, tanner, teamster, tin plater, tin worker, and toolmaker.

[95] Katherine Coman in her *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, vol. II, p. 337, says that these emigrants came from "the hill towns of New England, from the exhausted farms of New York and Pennsylvania, from the malaria haunted prairies of Illinois." She had evidently gone through the "emigrant books". Our examination of them, however, revealed very little migration from Illinois; people from Illinois did go to Kansas but not under the direction of the New England Company. Apparently, Miss Coman's statement was based on an error from which we were saved by the intervention of an attendant at the library. In the old-fashioned handwriting in which the entries were made, the abbreviation for *Maine* (Me.) is very much like what one would expect for *Illinois* (Ill.).

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SIZE OF COMMUNITIES SENDING EMIGRANTS TO KANSAS UNDER AUSPICES OF NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID COMPANY

Size Class [a]	Number of Communities	Number of Emigrants	Professionals	Farmers	Business	Mechanics and Wage-Earners
0– 1,000...	18	22	4	10	1	7
1,000– 2,500...	87	154	13	74	9	58
2,500– 5,000...	60	136	11	38	14	73
5,000– 10,000...	26	92	10	19	12	51
10,000– 25,000...	14	85	4	18	10	53
25,000– 50,000...	3	27	..	3	2	22
50,000–100,000...	1	1	..	1	..	..
100,000–and over .	2	53	8	2	14	29
Totals [b]	211	570	50	165	62	293

[a] From United States Census for 1850.

[b] The totals in this table are smaller than the numbers given previously since it was impossible to locate in the Census all the communities listed. Presumably the bias introduced by these omissions is in the direction of overstating the percentages of migration from the larger places.

Thus half of all the Company's migrants, and 45% even of the mechanics and wage-earners, appear to have come from villages between 1000 and 5000 rather than from the larger manufacturing centers.

Even with these indications, the discrimination between wage-earners and workers on their own account remains a matter of doubtful and individual judgment. If we place in the former group every case that seems to us close to the borderline, we believe that some 221 out of the 727—or 30% of the total—may be regarded as wage-earners. If the same proportion holds for all the migrants who came out under the New England Company during the four years covered by the books, approximately 900 out of the 3000 were wage workers. Both the percentage, then, and the absolute numbers were substantial, though still small in relation to the total labor supply of eastern industry.

The migration of wage-earners never again received such a notable single stimulus, but the idea of organized migration persisted long after the fate of "Bleeding Kansas" had been decided. Greeley added it to his platform and expressed surprise that people moving to the West had not long before seen

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that there was "no comparison as to safety, comfort, usefulness of emigrating with a group of farmers, mechanics, teachers, and pastors, over that of going to a strange land alone." [96] When this type of migration revived after the Civil War, one of the most important of the new groups, Union Colony, located in Colorado and fittingly chose Greeley as the name for its settlement. This project received full publicity in the *Tribune,* the first notice appearing December 4, 1869; and a substantial part of the original records have been collected and published by the University of Colorado.[97] These provide lists of names and home addresses of 436 people who paid the $155 necessary for membership and also of 139 of the first settlers. Unpublished papers in the Meeker Memorial Museum at Greeley contain application blanks filled out by 384 persons and giving not only home addresses but also occupations. The three lists do not contain identical names. Some who made applications did not become members, and some who became members apparently did not go West. Of the 73 applicants who were also listed among the early settlers, 17 may well have been wage-earners; and of the total of 384, some 74—or 19%—appear to belong in that category.

The geographical origins of the Colony may be examined by means of the longer list of those who paid their membership fees. Of the 436, New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania supplied 255, and the others were mainly from the West. New York leads with 101 entries, but the detailed list of communities dispels the notion that this indicates a preponderance of industrial wage-earners. These members came from 55 different communities, only 13 of which provided more than one entry apiece, and New York City and Brooklyn together furnished only 19. Again the origins seem to have been largely village and agricultural, and the suggestion that wage-earners played only a minor part in the enterprise is somewhat

[96] *New York Tribune,* May 24, 1859.

[97] *The Union Colony at Greeley, Colorado,* edited by James F. Willard, Colorado Historical Collection, vol. 1 (Boulder, 1918). Greeley today supports a coöperative retail which is described as the largest in the United States. Perhaps this may be thought of as indicating the survival of the spirit in which the original settlement was founded.

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confirmed by an article in the *Nation* describing the settlers as "gentleman farmers."

The case of this Union Colony is apparently unique both in its high degree of success and in the fullness of the records that have been preserved. Its time, however, was one of very active experimentation in organized settlement. In the year of its origin, a Dakota paper linked the general movement with "scarcity of work", "increase of pauperism" and "the overcrowded condition of cities" and declared that "emigrant societies", often established "after the plan of Loan Associations", had provided "thousands of poor laborers, mechanics and tradesmen" with the means of coming West.[98]

With the depression of 1873 colony-building received renewed stimulus. At least two other organized bodies followed the Union to Colorado—the St. Louis Western and the Chicago Colorado colonies. The latter was organized by a group of German workingmen, and it was from this that a number of the Fall River wage-earners straggled back to their "home base". Kansas attracted a still larger number of organized groups, and Miss Weldron's dissertation mentions the formation during the seventies of the Chicago Workingmen's Colony and the Excelsior Company, which was made up of New York mechanics, as well as nine others which may well have contained wage-earners—the Massachusetts, Bridgeport, New Haven, Syracuse, New York, Empire (also from New York), Brooklyn, Buffalo and Pennsylvania colonies.[99] Unfortunately there is little evidence of the fate of these ventures. We cannot tell, therefore, how many workmen they may have brought to the West, or how many they held there. In most cases, apparently, they did not last long, and it is probable that for many the end was similar to that described forty years later by the only couple remaining where the Syracuse colony had planted its settlement:

> All of the new settlers took claims and that spring planted their maize, which was promptly dried up by the drouth and

[98] *Union and Dakotaian*, Yankton, Dakota Territory, May 8, 1869.

[99] Nell Blythe Weldron, *Colonization in Kansas, 1861-1890* (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University), typewritten manuscript in the Kansas State Historical Society.

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> blown away by the hot winds. They managed to skimp through the following winter and the next spring again planted their crops, but the season was only a repetition of the first, and by July, practically all of the little band was thoroughly disgusted and almost destitute. . . .[100]

It thus appears that assisted and organized migration sometimes lessened but by no means eliminated the obstacles that stood in the way of the westward movement of wage-earners. The percentage of working-class participation in these group settlements may well have been higher than in the more individualistic movement to the West. It seems unlikely, however, that there could have been more than a year or two in which as many as five hundred wage-earners left the East for any or all of the colonies mentioned, and entirely improbable that the total movement of this sort was large enough to exert a marked effect upon the labor supply of the eastern factories.

Other Evidence from the West

Much of the evidence regarding the outcome of these organized ventures comes from western sources, and we may turn to similar materials for what indication they may give of the presence of wage-earners among the general body of settlers. On one point, the western papers of many localities and of all periods give unanimous testimony. Wage-earners were welcome and urged to come. "Good mechanics are much wanted", said a characteristic advertisement inserted on behalf of "the flourishing village of La Grange."[101] Western editors, moreover, took every depression and every instance of eastern distress as an occasion for pointing the moral of migration. According to the *Detroit Free Press* of 1837, "If the unemployed mechanics and laborers in the large cities at the East were informed of the prospects which are held out for them, they would be wanting in judgment, we think, if they did not immediately embark for the West."[102] Two decades later, the *Nebraska Palladium* made the inducements more specific and still more persuasive:

[100] *Topeka Capital*, Kansas, July 23, 1914.

[101] Advertisement in the *Democratic Free Press*, Detroit, March 22, 1832.

[102] *Detroit Free Press*, (Weekly Edition) August 16, 1837.

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> Come where a man can earn from one to two acres of land every day he works, and where a female can earn a farm of from 80 to 100 acres besides supporting herself in a year's time. Better come where you can earn something for yourself and be of service to the community, than to stay where you can earn nothing and are a burden to the State.[103]

Letter-writing readers joined their editors in the plea. Thus an Indiana settler wrote to "the unemployed and hungry of New York": "Just move your families to the small villages of the West. Here is unlimited work to be done, and thousands of dollars to pay for it. . . . Who will not prefer this to the riots, starvation, insolence, suffering and crimes, which you report to be your present or approximate condition?"[104] Still more complacent is the advice from a Nebraskan in the seventies:

> It is with pleasure I read in a recent copy of a paper published in the mining districts of Pennsylvania of the continued dissatisfaction of the miners or at least a portion of them, and of their preparing to go West to take up public lands and each to go to work for himself.
>
> This is the wisest way of solving the trouble existing in the coal mining regions and everywhere, between employers and employed. . . . When the laboring men in any part of our country find themselves oppressed by capital, or embroiled in feuds with trade unions, they cannot do better than betake themselves to the primitive occupation of digging their living out of the generous earth.[105]

These comments show only that wage-earners would have been welcome. What we are more anxious to know is how many of them actually went West, and how large a part of the stream of migration they made. The records we have found, however, permit us to do no more than dip into the stream here and there at places and periods that we may hope were representative. In the case of Michigan, to which the *Free*

[103] *Nebraska Palladium*, Belleview, Douglas County, Nebraska, January 24, 1855.

[104] *Ibid.*, February 21, 1855.

[105] *Syracuse Standard*, Syracuse, Nebraska, December 25, 1871.

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Press urged the unemployed to go, we may make use of Mr. George N. Fuller's careful study of the origins of the population.[106] His observations for the state as a whole indicated that a very large proportion of the early settlers came from upper New York State. For Washtenaw County, which he considered typical both in physical features and in the sources of the people, he made an intensive study of the places from which the original purchasers of the land had come. Of those from outside Michigan, almost all were from New York State,[107] and this migration he analyzed as follows:

> By far the largest number of New York purchasers registered from Genesee, Monroe, Ontario, and Seneca counties; Cayuga, Livingston, Steuben and Wayne counties made up the next largest number; these eight counties, which made a fairly compact area, were in the northern and central parts of western New York. Four-fifths of these patents (183) name counties lying west of the meridian of Stony Point, which passes through the eastern end of Lake Ontario; and of these, seven-tenths (129) name these eight counties. Less than two-fifths of the whole number (89) mention counties bordering on Lake Erie and Pennsylvania, and purchasers were fewest in the latter. In both western and eastern New York they were most numerous in the area which was influenced directly by the Erie Canal.[108]

Mr. Fuller's general conclusion may be supported from another source. During 1836, the *Detroit Daily Advertiser* published a "Traveller's Register" giving the names and addresses of the people who came to the hotels of the city. In the period from June 11 to July 8, over two thousand names were published. Of these at least 958 came from New York State and by far the larger part from the Erie Canal region which Mr. Fuller describes. The city of New York, on the other hand, appears to have provided not more than fifteen

[106] George N. Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, Michigan Historical Publications, vol. 1.

[107] Of the total of 518, 212 were from Washtenaw itself and 41 from other counties in Michigan. Of the rest, 228 were from New York, 5 from other Middle Atlantic states, 3 from the West and 4 from abroad. *Ibid.*, p. 469.

[108] *Ibid.*, pp. 470-471.

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or twenty of the migrants.[109] Both these sources, therefore, suggest the conclusion that wage-earners from the industrial centers did not form a large proportion of the early settlers of Michigan.

Similar evidence may be found for Minnesota. From a St. Paul newspaper, we took the names of 341 individuals who came to the state during May 1854 and April 1855.[110] More than three fifths of the total were contributed by the five states of New York (20%), Pennsylvania (13%), Maine (13%), Illinois (9%), and Wisconsin (7%). Thus two partly industrial states supplied much of the migration, but what evidence there is on the actual localities suggests that for New York at least the migrants again came mainly from the smaller communities.[111]

Though the Gold Rush does not represent the type of pioneering on which the main emphasis of the Turner theory falls, it is nevertheless of interest to note certain evidence regarding the composition of the wagon trains that started across the Plains. The *St. Louis Republican* stationed a correspondent at Independence, and his reports make it clear that by far the greater part of the migrants that assembled there were from the farms and the small towns of the Middle West. A few came from the South and a few from the agricultural regions of the East; but the Pittsburgh and California Enterprise Company, of whose nearly 300 people 162 came from Pittsburgh, was an outstanding exception.[112] At the same time, moreover, another Missouri paper was deploring the effects of emigration

[109] Some uncertainty arises from the possible confusion between state and city.

[110] *The Daily Minnesota Pioneer*, St. Paul.

[111] Of the 27 people from New York State whose home towns were given,) came from Buffalo, only 2 from New York City, and the rest were scattered among the smaller communities. In Pennsylvania, however, 5 were from Philadelphia and 8 from Pittsburgh, among the 32 cases in which the localities were recorded.

[112] *St. Louis Republican*, April 12-22, 1849. One of the authors, in another connection, has devoted considerable time to reading the diaries and biographies written by people who had crossed the plains in the wagon trains. Though by no means having read all of the many such works published, he has found thus far not one case of an individual who had written such an autobiography or diary, who was not brought up in a rural community.

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from within the state. Farmers and farm laborers were being drawn away, and "many a broad acre of rich and improved land" would therefore lie idle.[113]

A final bit of evidence comes from the settlement of western Kansas during the eighties. One of the sections then receiving population was Greeley County with its appropriately named towns of Horace and Tribune. From July through December, 1886, the *Greeley County Gazette* mentions the names of 43 settlers who came to the community. Of these, 24 were from Kansas, 6 from Illinois, 4 from Missouri, 2 each from Kentucky and Indiana, and one each from Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, New York and West Virginia. The known occupations included three lawyers, two doctors, a hotel keeper and merchant, a real estate dealer, a capitalist, a court clerk, and Land Office registrar, and a man engaged in the loan business. As for the other 32, most of them probably fitted the description given by the *Greeley Tribune:* "The immigration that is now pouring into Kansas is something to excite wonder and bewilderment. Thousands and thousands of intelligent farmers of the Eastern States are daily pouring into our Western counties in order to take advantage of the low price of land."[114] Though the latter paper, in the spirit of its namesake, urged the disaffected laborer of the East that his strike would be victorious if only he would "strike for Tribune", there is no record that the advice was ever followed.

When more general references to the origins of migrants can be found, their tenor is most often like that of the quotation from the *Greeley Tribune.* Some, to be sure, speak of the coming of business and professional men such as those listed in the *Gazette* or referred to in the Fall River papers. Thus the Commissioner of Immigration, maintained by the state of Minnesota in New York City, wrote hopefully to his Governor of the prospect of fifteen or twenty thousand settlers and added that "a fair proportion" would be "well-to-do-people, and persons with capital, who desire to enter and engage in differ-

[113] *The Weekly Tribune,* Liberty, Missouri, June 21, 1850.

[114] *Greeley Tribune,* Tribune, Kansas, April 24, 1886.

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ent branches of manufacturing."[115] Many references, also, and a number of well-known monographs, deal with the settlement of immigrants from abroad. But a notice taken from the *Buffalo Democracy* represents an even more characteristic item: "The flux of Yankee immigration to the West, this season is entirely unprecedented; every propellor leaving this port is loaded down with emigrants, chiefly from the New England States, and of the best class of sturdy farmers, bound for Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota."[116] Often also, it was the next previous frontier which supplied the settlers for the new. Thus a Minnesota land official made a trip through Michigan and Indiana early in 1855 and "heard of hundreds of families who designed removing the present season." "Multitudes poured in on him", he reported, "eager to learn particulars about the country."[117]

Again, the *Minnesota Pioneer* headed a note that "quite a large proportion of the passengers who arrived here Sunday were farmers" with the caption: "The Right Kind of Men for a New Country",[118] and returned to the same theme with greater eloquence in the following year:

> And the strangers coming amongst us are of precisely the right type. You see very few of those who look through the keen restless eyes, which mark the mere speculator; fewer still

[115] From a letter of E. Page Davis, Commissioner of Immigration for the State of Minnesota in New York, to Governor H. Austin of Minnesota, dated New York, December 8th, 1871. (In the collection of the Minnesota Historical Society.)

[116] Quoted in the *Daily Minnesota Pioneer*, St. Paul, April 30, 1855. Another reference to "New England farmers" settling in Iowa appears in the *New York Tribune*, December 2, 1851. This impression is confirmed by the results of conversations with a number of old-time Iowa settlers. It may be worth while to add that these surviving pioneers scoffed at the suggestion that eastern mill workers might have settled in their state. None could recall any of their neighbors who had come from the industrial centers, and their belief was that such people could not have succeeded on the land. Some of them thought that many of the mechanics and skilled artisans who had come to the state were of foreign origin.

[117] *Daily Minnesota Pioneer*, April 30, 1855. The official was G. W. Sweet, Register of the Sauk Rapids Land Office.

[118] *Ibid.*, October 24, 1854.

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> of the class which throws its "whole intellect" into the cultivation of mustachios, and contemplates with admiration the fit of Jenning's shortest waist and longest tail; but the great majority of the thousands are hard fisted, broad chested, open-faced, Middle States farmers, whose burden of inquiry is about the soil, and who look as if they intended to be at work on the day after they select a claim or enter it.[119]

From such sources, apparently, and not from the eastern mills, came the great majority of settlers of the western lands.

Conclusion

From this sampling of imperfect materials, we cannot claim the weight of conclusive proof. It is hoped that the question may receive further study and quite possible that such examination may disclose the existence of significant movements which our investigation has failed to uncover. There is, however, no mistaking the general tenor of what has been found. The bits of evidence drawn from widely scattered sources fit together into a pattern of unexpected consistency. In it, for example, workers' complaints of the difficulty of migration are matched by western figures of the cost of settlement. The return of Fall River wage-earners is made understandable by what happened to New York mechanics in the Farm and Village Association in Minnesota. Still more significantly, the lack of reference to wage-earners in western accounts of frontier origins appears consistent with what can be learned from the records of the industrial centers, and suggests that "the case of Fall River" was far from exceptional.

This cumulation of evidence thus points to the conclusion that the movement of eastern wage-earners to the western lands was surprisingly small.[120] Too few industrial workers reached the frontier to attract notice in the accounts of settlement.

[119] *Ibid.*, April 25, 1855.

[120] "Surprisingly" at least to the investigators, of whom one had made use of the safety-valve doctrine for a number of years (e. g., in W. H. Hamilton, *Current Economic Problems*, Third Edition, 1925, p. 675, and in the *Economic Record* of 1928, vol. IV, pp. 205-208), and the other began the work confident that a few months would be sufficient to demonstrate the existence of a substantial movement.

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What is more striking, too few wage-earners left the industrial centers to exert any marked effect on their labor situation. We could find no eastern paper showing any such concern over their departure as the Liberty *Weekly Tribune* expressed over the Missourians who were drawn into the Gold Rush. Even when the obstacles to working-class settlement were partially removed by assisted and organized migration, the numbers did not swell into a really substantial stream. Finally, one further corollary is suggested by limited but persuasive evidence. When eastern workers did attempt to take up land, they appear very frequently to have failed and returned home discouraged. To Professor Paxson's remark that "the city dwellers gave less than their share to the procession west; and more than their proportion of the pioneers that failed",[121] we may add that both statements seem to apply *a fortiori* to the urban wage-earners.

Since these findings run counter to an important element in the Turner theory, it is essential to indicate with care the boundaries of the disagreement. There is nothing in the present study to cast doubt upon the doctrine that the growth of American industrialism was delayed and made difficult by the presence of the frontier alternative. Nor has it attempted to examine the extent to which the growing industries of the Middle West recruited their labor supply from eastern wage-earners. The analysis confirms, moreover, rather than questions the opinion that the abundance of western land drew away many thousands of *potential* wage-earners who might otherwise have crowded into the factories "from the hill towns of New England" and "from the exhausted farms of New York and Pennsylvania." Though here the "safety valve" was the farmer's rather than the worker's, we need not doubt that its operation tended to hold up the level of industrial wages.

We cannot, however, accept the safety-valve doctrine in the direct and literal form in which it has been stated by Turner and his followers. This seems to have had no basis more substantial than the political debates over the homestead acts

[121] F. L. Paxson, *When the West is Gone* (New York, 1920), p. 70.

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and the hopes and aspirations of Greeley and Evans, and can hardly be maintained unless new and concrete evidence is brought forward to its support. Once American industrialism was well established, it seems clear that the overwhelming proportion of its workers lived out their lives within its confines. It appears impossible to believe that any significant number of American wage-earners did in fact "escape as individuals"—or in organized groups—"to lands that [were] free."

This conclusion, moreover, need not seem surprising if it is considered in the setting of the general development of the nation. In spite of the westward movement, the country throughout the period was steadily becoming more urban and less rural, and each Census recorded the relative gain of manufacturing as compared with agriculture.[122] The factories were thus drawing population from the countryside, and the presence of a reverse movement might be thought of as requiring more explanation than its absence. Again, the labor controversies of the time, as Professor Shannon has argued, were fought with a bitterness hard to reconcile with the doctrine that the workmen could escape "with a slight effort" to a life of independence on the western lands. If the American wage-earners of the period did in fact have broader opportunities than their fellows in other countries, it would appear that more of the explanation lies in the rapid growth of manufacturing employment than in the presence of a distant frontier.

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[122] In a paper read last year before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Professor Fred A. Shannon pointed out that up to 1890 only 372,659 titles were granted under the Homestead Act. Allowing six persons to a family, this would have accounted for something over two million people, while at the same time the population of the United States increased well over twenty million. Even of these claims, a large proportion, as he points out, were commuted. In this valuable paper, which is as yet unpublished and which we have used by his kind permission, Professor Shannon arrived at much the same conclusion as that in the text, but by the use of entirely different evidence and procedure.

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APPROACHES TO HISTORY VI * †

VIII

IT is written in the Gospel according to St. Matthew, "they seeing see not; and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand." It would have been very strange indeed if Christ, instructing His people about the Kingdom of Heaven, could have found an understanding audience. Those who listened to Him understood Him in terms of their own traditional attitudes, which Christ came to change. The documentary evidence of the Gospels is a striking illustration of the hopeless tragedy. They listened to Him in terms of their own mental language, they understood Him in terms of their own understanding—that is, they did not see Him at all, they did not hear Him at all, they did not understand Him at all; and if they were emotionally overcome by His personality and were moved to believe in Him, they believed in Him with their own faith in a product of their own minds. Those who crucified Him, crucified a Christ strange to them, unknown and inexplicable; and those who believed and followed Him, followed an un-understood Redeemer.

There are two universal tragedies in that situation. One took place at a given time and was finished; the other tragedy began we know not when, and we know not whether it can ever come to an end, and this tragedy is with us because it is within us today as it always was. With our presumptions and our assumptions we may bravely and naïvely deny it—we do not change the situation. We assume a mind that has innate, definite and universal qualities. This mind, we further assume, meets the intelligible world with mental operations inherent in

* For the previously published articles in this series, see THE POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, vol. XLIV (1929), p. 481; vol. XLV (1930), p. 481; vol. XLVII (1932), p. 410; vol. XLVIII (1933), p. 23; vol. XLIX (1934), p. 44. —ED.

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human nature and hence its functions claim universal validity. The formal universal operations of the human mind are the subject of philosophy as it is generally understood. But as a matter of fact, there are no actual operations of the mind that are purely formal. The mind when it operates, operates on something concrete and operates not in a general but in a specific way. This specific way has a definite approach; it has a definite direction; it implies definite attitudes, though it may appear to the operating mind as the only possible and universal approach to the subject under consideration.

In our studies we have tried to show in various ways, dealing with diverse materials, how different attitudes produce different patterns of thinking, different types of understanding, different emotional reactions.

It would therefore seem that the rôle of attitudes in the realm of thinking is the obvious subject for philosophy to consider. We should, however, look in vain in the great systems of philosophy for any consideration of attitudes. True enough every system emphasizes its own particular approach, conscious of its own originality. Kant for instance turned the laws of nature into the laws of the mind and compared this "revolution" with the Copernican "revolution" in astronomy. His approach therefore was different from, let us say, the Aristotelian approach. On the other hand, it emphasized the universality of the forms of thinking, and hence the universality of the operations of our minds, which thus produce the uniformities called the "laws of nature". The universal *modus operandi* of the "*Gesetzgebende Vernunft*" could in no wise be deflected or affected by attitudes.

While attitudes have never been considered, philosophers have been forced in the more recent years to admit that the ideas or assumptions of a certain period were characterized by a general similarity which differentiated them from those of another period. These general intellectual characteristics of a given period they called *Zeitgeist*. To some this *Zeitgeist* was a given moment of the universal spirit in its historic development. The more realistic spirits of our own time have admitted unconscious assumptions which characterized the thought

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of a given time. It is in terms of such unconscious assumptions of a given period that Whitehead tries to give to the *Zeitgeist* a more realistic interpretation.

> When you are criticizing the philosophy of an epoch, do not chiefly direct your attention to those intellectual positions which its exponents feel it necessary explicitly to defend. There will be some fundamental assumptions which adherents of all the variant systems within the epoch unconsciously presuppose. Such assumptions appear so obvious that people do not know what they are assuming because no other way of putting things has ever occurred to them. With these assumptions a certain limited number of types of philosophic systems are possible, and this group of systems constitutes the philosophy of the epoch.[1]

We doubt whether the assumptions of philosophers like Plato or Fichte, Schelling or Hegel, were really unconscious, and perhaps Whitehead did not literally mean this. His observation does not challenge the concept of universality of our mental operations. The "assumption" is but an additional characteristic element brought into our thought; it is not an attitude of mind, not an element that gives to our mental operations their direction and character. Philosophers remained true to the fundamental proposition that the framework of all our mental operations is universal, permanent in the mind itself, inherent in human nature.

Indeed without such an assumption our standardized types of philosophy would find the very ground cut from under their feet, because the vocation of traditional philosophy is to deal in universal validities. These universal validities are expressed in general concepts. But does our history of philosophy show any universality and immutability in these concepts? Indeed the simple word concept, *Begriff,* exhibits most fantastic mutations. Hegel's philosophy, for instance, is a *Begriffwissenschaft,* literally the science of the concept, but this literal translation could never convey Hegel's meaning. For to Hegel the *Begriff* is identical with the "Idea" and is therefore a manifestation of the Absolute. The word "con-

[1] A. A. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (New York, 1925), p. 69.

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cept" therefore has an entirely different meaning here from what it had in scholastic philosophy or in the philosophical systems of Hegel's eighteenth-century predecessors. *The* concept that philosophy primarily deals with is that of *Reason*. But did the concept of Reason remain immutable? In Schelling and in Hegel, Reason—*Vernunft*—is something more akin to "Destiny" and the conscious apprehension thereof.[2] The "Reason" of the eighteenth century is to Schelling and Hegel despicable vulgar understanding.[3] The "Reason" of Helvetius and Holbach, D'Alembert and Condorcet, is considered loathsome, indeed the "Reason" of all eighteenth-century philosophers is an object of derision, a target at which German mud is flung. Even Kant was to Schelling but an '*Unphilosoph*—a non-philosopher. On the other hand if eighteenth-century philosophers could have pronounced judgment on the German nineteenth-century idealistic performances in the realm of thought, they would have considered them at best but a pathological deformity of Platonic thought.

So much for "Reason". Take any other fundamental concept, let us say, "causation". Did the concept of causation remain immutable? Responding to the eighteenth-century mechanical approach, Hume in his association of ideas aimed at a Newtonian gravitation—a mechanical process of causation. Helvetius described the process with more drastic cru-

[2] "Die Idee kann als die Vernunft . . . gefasst werden." Hegel's *Encyklopädie*, Sec. 214. On the other hand the realization of Reason, i. e., of the "Idea" is History. See Hegel, *Werke* (1st ed.), vol. XIV (1833), p. 193.

[3] Schelling, *Werke*, vol. V, p. 258. "Der Staat begünstige nur erst, dass der gemeine Verstand Schiedsrichter über Ideen sey, so wird dieser sich bald auch über den Staat erheben, dessen auf Vernunft und Ideen gegründete Verfassung er so wenig wie diese begreift. . . . Dieser Ideenleerheit, die sich Aufklärung zu nennen untersteht, ist die Philosophie am meisten entgegengesetzt."

But especially note the frank admission of the complete antithesis of his so-called idealistic philosophy to the Age of Reason, and all that age stood for. "Die Philosophie ist ihrer Natur nach etwas Esoterisches, für sich weder für den Pöbel gemacht, noch einer Zubereitung für den Pöbel fähig; sie ist nur dadurch Philosophie, dass sie dem Verstande, und damit noch mehr dem gesunden Menschenverstande, worunter man die locale und temporäre Beschränktheit eines Geschlechts der Menschen versteht, gerade entgegengesetzt ist; im Verhältniss zu diesem ist an und für sich die Welt der Philosophie eine verkehrte Welt." vol. V, p. 13.

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dity. "A cause is a being which puts another in motion or which produces some change in him; the effect is the change which one body produces in another by the help of motion".[4] To Kant causation is a form of our thinking and hence we think of successive related events in terms of causation. To think of natural or human history not in terms of causation was unthinkable to the eighteenth-century mind, as indeed it was to the thinkers of antiquity—"*Ex nihilo nihil*". But is there "causation" in Hegel's dialectic process? Hardly! It is an immanent dialectic development of the "Idea".[5]

Since we mentioned the word "dialectic"—has it the same meaning in Hegel as it has let us say in Plato, who is supposed to have been the originator of the method? In Plato it is distinctly a method, a logical stepladder that may lead us from opinion to knowledge, from hypothesis to first principles. It is a method of ascent from sensible things to an intelligible principle and of descent from the highest principle to specific issues upon which this principle is to throw intellectual illumination. This is not the place to discuss Plato's first principles, but we have described here the method of his quest which he called the dialectic method. In Hegel we are dealing with a revelation of a dialectic process, not with the discussion of a method. All *true* thinking is dialectic, because our *being* is dialectic, because all being, all existence is dialectic since it is part of a dialectic process. It affects stones and bones, chemical reactions and plant life, not less than our thought.[6] In other words reality is dialectic, the movement of all matter and of all life is dialectic, for it is the principle of all movement.[7] There seems to be quite a difference in the meaning, the scope and the implications of the concept "dialectic" in a Plato and a Hegel.

[4] Helvetius, *The True Sense and Meaning of Nature* (English translation, 1810), p. 3.

[5] "Die Idee ist wesentlich Process, weil ihre Identität nur die absolute und freie des Begriffs ist, insofern sie die absolute Negativität und daher dialektisch ist." Hegel's *Encyklopädie*, Sec. 215, *Werke*, vol. VI (1840), p. 390.

[6] Hegel, *Werke*, vol. II, p. 4; vol. III, pp. 137, 186; vol. IV, pp. 68-69; vol. V, pp. 276-277.

[7] See Zusatz to Sec. 81 of Hegel's *Encyklopädie, Werke*, vol. VI, p. 152.

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Illustrations of this constant change in the very meaning of the concepts we use could be multiplied *ad infinitum*. Such constant change hardly argues for the immutability and universality even of the forms of our thinking. But it may be said, if the operations of the mind are not universal, why talk of a "mind"? The only meaning it can have is that of an organized and established way of thinking. Organized ways of thinking may differ, and they do differ. In their diversity they indicate the presence of different attitudes behind them. The fundamental question therefore is what determines and changes the attitude, and how does the attitude operate.

This proposition does not undermine or abolish the function of philosophy. Quite the opposite. Philosophy is made more essential to life than it ever was. We endeavor to turn philosophy from a luxury of the few into an outright general necessity, for we make philosophers (in the broadest sense of the word) the structural workers of the mind and therefore indispensable. If our mind is but a structure and the structure is erected and directed by attitudes, if the attitudes as well as their structures are in constant flux, who is to change the old, who is to formulate the new? Who is to repair and renovate old structures? Who, if circumstances call for it, is to engage in slum-clearing within the realm of our own mentality and who is to erect new structures on the cleared ground? No one but the philosopher. That it was his vocation he did not seem to know, that it is his vocation we are attempting to demonstrate.

That attitudes control our thinking processes, the builders of universal systems ignore. But our philosophers were educators. Our great American thinker, John Dewey, actually defined philosophy as a general theory of education and twenty years ago wrote the following:

> If we are willing to conceive education as the process of forming fundamental dispositions, intellectual and emotional, toward nature and fellow men, philosophy may even be defined as the *general theory of education*. Unless a philosophy is to remain symbolic—or verbal—or a sentimental indulgence for a few, or

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> else mere arbitrary dogma, its auditing of past experience and its program of values must take effect in conduct.[8]

As a matter of fact, that is exactly what every significant philosophical system was aiming at. While not recognizing attitudes as controlling our thought, philosophy was formulating attitudes to control our thinking and affect our conduct.

Philosophers were quite conscious of being educators and it is rather entertaining to note that in their capacity as educators they looked upon attitudes quite differently from the way they did as philosophers. Plato as a philosopher did not profess to formulate a serviceable attitude, but as an educator he was aiming at nothing but the control of habits, meaning habits of thought, and hence control of conduct by an attitude. In good old Shorey's book, *What Plato Said,* the word attitude does not occur, but the reading of the *Republic* and the *Laws* will suffice to show how man's thoughts and conduct were to be controlled by an attitude. "Education", Plato tells us in the second book of the *Laws,* "is the constraining and directing of youth toward that right reason, which the law affirms, and which the experience of the best of our elders has agreed to be truly right." In Book VII we find how the laws are to make sure that the right attitude is inculcated.

> They shall constrain the teachers themselves to learn and approve them [the laws], and any of them who will not, shall not be employed by them, but those whom they find agreeing in their judgment, they shall make use of and shall commit to them the instruction of youth.

Aristotle's logical criticisms and constructive endeavors to promote eristic skill as well as ways of reaching objective judgments assume as a matter of course the universality of the operations of the human mind. If however, we turn from Aristotle's *Topics* and *Analytics* to his *Nicomachean Ethics,* especially to passages where he talks as an educator, we find that he distinguishes our moral knowledge and moral habits from universal natural properties which cannot be altered by habit. It is astounding that Aristotle did not draw from his

[8] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York, 1916), p. 383.

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own observations on intellectual virtue the conclusion that all our mental operations, including formal truisms, are not natural properties but are "*produced by instruction*". They imply, as even Aristotle's Logic does, a definite approach and a definite attitude. The opening sentences of Book II of the *Nicomachean Ethics* read as follows:

> Virtue being, as we have seen, of two kinds, intellectual and moral, *intellectual virtue* is for the most part both *produced and increased by instruction,* and therefore requires experience and time; whereas moral or ethical virtue is the product of *habit* (ethos), and has indeed derived its name, with a slight variation of form, from that word. And therefore it is clear that none of the moral virtues is engendered in us by nature, *for no natural property can be altered by habit.* For instance, it is the nature of a stone to move downwards, and it cannot be trained to move upwards, even though you should try to train it to do so by throwing it up into the air ten thousand times; nor can fire be trained to move downwards nor can anything else that naturally behaves in one way be trained into a habit of behaving in another way.[9]

Just so, we may assume natural properties to be universal and therefore not subject to change by instruction. However, not only intellectual virtue but all intellectual structures are "produced and increased" by instruction. This instruction not only provides us with the content, but, what is more important, with the mode of our thinking.

As educators our classical philosophers did recognize that attitudes control thought and so did the Early Christian thinkers. Tertullian, for instance, rejected all pagan teaching; "he saw nothing in classical Culture but a robbery of God; a step toward the false and arrogant wisdom of the older philosophers."[10] The fathers of the Church in the main follow Quintilian's ideas on education. "Accordingly", writes Gregory Nazianzen, "to impress the truth upon a soul

[9] Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, English translation by H. Rackham (Loeb's Classics, London, 1926), p. 71.

[10] Compayré, *Histoire de la Pédagogie*, p. 51. Also G. Hodgson, *Primitive Christian Education* (Edinburgh, 1906), p. 188.

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when it is still fresh, like wax not yet subjected to the seal, is an easier task than inscribing pious doctrine on the tops of inscriptions." [11] In Basil the Great we find the same simile: "the path of the soul is formed in the soft wax of the child's mind. . . ." [12]

With a different set of values and different aims and correspondingly different accents, the Church fathers had no other view of education than that which Dryden expressed:

> By education most have been misled;
> So they believe because they so were bred.
> The priest continues what the nurse began,
> And thus the child imposes on the man.[13]

That view of education is probably just about as old as education itself. Ignorance prevents me from citing cuneiform inscriptions, but from the "Proverbs" can be quoted the familiar maxim:

> Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it.[14]

The significance of habits, habits of mind, impressed and imposed upon us in our infancy, is a commonplace in Roman literature. We find it recognized in Quintilian and in Cicero, in Virgil, Horace and Ovid, and we find these classical writers quoted even in medieval literature on Christian education, as for instance, in Johannes Gerson's *Tractatus de parvulis trahendis ad Christum.*[15]

The Humanists, in so far as they dealt with education, did not add much. We find practically the same thoughts in Erasmus. Erasmus has even been quoted as saying: "Give me, for a few years, the direction of education and I agree to

[11] *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* edited by Philip Schaff, Second Series, vol. VII, p. 213 (New York, 1894).

[12] Basilius Magnus, *Opera Omnia* (Julian Garnier, Paris, 1839), vol. II, Part I, p. 498.

[13] Dryden, *The Hind and the Panther,* Part III, line 389.

[14] "Proverbs", XXII, 6.

[15] *Sammlung der bedeutendsten paedagogischen Schriften,* edited by J. Freundgen (Paderborn, 1896), pp. 231-233.

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transform the world."[16] Perhaps it is just as well that he did not have the chance, for he had a truly Confucian regard for "learning" as such. However, in his book on education addressed to the Duke of Cleves in 1529, some expressions are interesting: "If trees or wild beasts grow, men, believe me, are fashioned." And when it comes to fashioning, he urges that the wax be handled while it is soft, the clay moulded while it is wet, the fleece dyed before it gathers stain.[17]

The subject becomes more interesting and, perhaps, more significant when we consider the great philosophers of the seventeenth century. It is here that we find the contradiction between the concept of universal Reason and the particular build of the operating mind. In his *Essays* Francis Bacon tells us: "Since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavor to obtain good customs. Certainly custom is more perfect when it beginneth in young years, *this we call education.*"[18] In some other connection Bacon tells us that, "Custom only doth alter and subdue nature."[19] Much balder and perhaps more interesting are the observations of Hobbes on this very subject:

> . . . the Common-peoples minds, unlesse they be tainted with dependance on the Potent, or scribbled over with the opinions of their Doctors, are like clean paper, fit to receive whatsoever by Publique Authority shall be imprinted in them. Shall whole Nations be brought to acquiesce in the great Mysteries of Christian Religion, which are above Reason; and millions of men be made believe, that the same Body may be in innumerable places, at one and the same time, which is against Reason; and shall not men be able, by their teaching, and preaching, protected by the Law, to make that received, which is so consonant to Reason, that any unprejudicated man, needs no more to learn

[16] Thomas Woody, *New Minds: New Men* (New York, 1932), p. 3.

[17] Desiderius Erasmus, *De Pueris Statum ac Liberaliter Instituendis,* Sections 7 and 8. His argument for "learning" at the earliest age is in Section 17. See William H. Woodward, *Desiderius Erasmus concerning the Aim and Method of Education* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1904), pp. 181-187, 197, 205-207.

[18] Francis Bacon, *Essays* (Essay XXXIX), in *Bacon's Philosophical Works,* edited by J. M. Robertson (London, 1905), p. 784.

[19] *Ibid.,* p. 782.

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> it, than to hear it? I conclude therefore, that in the instruction of the people in the Essentiall Rights (which are the Naturall, and Fundamental Lawes) of Soveraignity, there is no difficulty, (whilest a Soveraign has his Power entire), but what proceeds from his own fault, or the fault of those whom he trusteth in the administration of the Common-wealth; and consequently, it is his Duty, to cause them so to be instructed; and not onely his Duty, but his Benefit also, and Security, against the danger that may arrive to himselfe in his naturall Person, from Rebellion.[20]

Here we see everything combined without any hesitation. Assumed is the universality of Reason, asserted nevertheless is that our mind is like clean paper on which anything can be scribbled, and that our mind operates perfectly regardless of whether or not these operations are above, below or within Reason, provided our mind is so trained to operate.

In John Locke we find the same old simile, comparing the mind of a child to white paper or a wax tablet. Thus he writes about the education of a gentleman's son:

> I think a prince, a nobleman and an ordinary gentleman's son should have different ways of breeding. But having had here only some general views in reference to the main end and aim in education, and those designed for a gentleman's son, whom being then very little I considered only as white paper, or wax, to be moulded and fashioned as one pleases, I have touched little more than those heads, which I judged necessary for the breeding of a young gentleman of his condition in general. . . .[21]

Education fashions the man for good or for evil and the almost imperceptible impressions on our mind in its infancy determine the distant consequences

> as in the fountains of some rivers, where a gentle application of the hand turns the flexible waters into channels that make them take quite contrary courses; and by this little direction, given them at first in the source, they receive different tendencies and arrive at last at very remote and distant places.[22]

[20] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651), Everyman's Edition, p. 180.

[21] John Locke, *Educational Writings*, edited by J. W. Adamson (Cambridge, 1922), p. 179.

[22] *Ibid.*, Section 1, p. 25.

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These tendencies or grooves of the mind are to be established by practice till they form mental habits.

> What you think necessary for them to do, settle in them by an indispensable practice, as often as the occasion returns; and, if it be possible, make occasions. This will beget habits in them, which being once established, operate of themselves easily and naturally, without the assistance of the memory. . . .[23]

Leibnitz did not write much on education, and what he has written was incidental, but pithy. He also holds that the object of education is to establish a *state of mind,* a habit of mind, which results in correspondingly prompt actions.[24] Do Locke's established directions and tendencies in the mind or Leibnitz' "state of mind" or habit of mind affect "Reason", or is Reason quite independent of the mind? For the mind we have now learned is modeled wax, scribblings on paper, the directed course of a river; or it is given definite states or habits of thinking and acting established by education.

It would seem that the mind of the human being which we are educating in definite habits, grooves or ways of thinking—in short, in definite attitudes with which we are directing it to approach life and its problems—is the mind that the philosopher deals with in his capacity as an educator, but it is not the mind *sub specie aeternitatis* that he deals with as a philosopher contemplating the mind's *formal* capacity of recognizing that A = A. In this contemplation, however, he overlooks that this identity implies the existence of an A, and that furthermore this A represents *content* not *form.* Thus in one case education produces ways of thinking and feeling that serve definite purposes, namely, to equip us with attitudes of mind and with definite approaches to life. In the other case we also deal with attitudes but this time with the habitat *in*

[23] *Ibid.*, Section 66, p. 45.

[24] "Studiorum ratio est species quaedam rationis status, id est, modus perveniendi ad statum actionum perfectarum. Status autem iste dicitur habitu quem definio: Agendi promptitudinem acquisitam permanentem." G. W. Leibnitz, *Sämmtliche Schriften und Briefe,* Sechste Reihe, Erster Band (Darmstadt 1930), p. 266.

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vacuo and an appetite for universalities. Strangely enough the universalists failed to realize that theirs is also a specific approach, which also has definite social functions.

The philosophers of Enlightenment, as the very word suggests, belonged *par excellence* to the Age of Reason. Reason, sovereign and universal, was their battle cry, their "*in hoc signo vincis*". They were fighting against an age-old oppression maintained by the State and consecrated by the Church. It was not armies that they were confronting but attitudes of mind that accepted the old order of things. What they said was perhaps not new, but it had the quality of a bugle call. It was not abstract and gentle talk; it called men to action.

> Man is almost everywhere so wicked, so corrupt, so rebellious to reason, only because he is not governed according to his nature, nor properly instructed in her necessary laws: he is almost in every climate, fed with superstitious chimeras; submitted to masters who neglect his instruction, or who seek to deceive him. On the face of this globe, may be frequently witnessed unjust sovereigns, who, enervated by luxury, corrupted by flattery, depraved by licentiousness, made wicked by impunity, devoid of talents, without morals, destitute of virtue, are incapable of exerting any energy for the benefit of the states. . . .[25]

It is education that must rectify the errors of benighted and deceived mankind; it is education that must lead us on the path of reason and of true knowledge of nature and its laws. The formation of human character and the human mind is wholly a matter of education. Indeed, as Helvetius puts it, "The inequality in minds or understandings is the effect of a known cause, and this cause is the difference of education".[26] This new dispensation was the doctrine of the infinite perfectibility of the human kind, through education and by appropriate change in the institutional external setting. Passionate

[25] Holbach, *Nature and its Laws*, English translation of *Système de la Nature* (London, 1816), p. 491.

[26] Helvetius, *De l'Homme* (1773-1774), translated by W. Harper under the title *A Treatise on Man* (London, 1810), Section II, p. 94.

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was the faith that rang in this simple message. Far and wide the message spread. It swept France, it moved England, it was imported into Germany. It was inspired by and based upon the ideas of French popular philosophy, newly imported and disseminated in England. And again it was proved that faith can move mountains. A good example was the amazing educational achievement of Robert Owen in New Lanark. Robert Owen's formulation of his principle is but the gist and epitome of the social and educational philosophy of the French on the eve of their revolution:

> This principle is, that any character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community, even to the world at large, by applying certain means; which are to a great extent at the command and under the control, or easily made so, of those who possess the government of nations.[27]

Germany too responded, before the Napoleonic Wars, to the call of Enlightenment. Not only was Kant an avowed enlightener, but even Fichte was always at heart a world-improver *sui generis*. Indeed, even Schelling and Hegel planted trees in their younger and happier days to commemorate the French Revolution, and Frederick Schlegel wrote an enthusiastic review of Condorcet's book. But social and political conditions in Germany were not such as to favor philosophical publicism. Therefore it was not in a popular way that Kant revolutionized philosophy. What Kant presented was of course a different "approach"—an approach which emphasized the forms of thinking. These forms were permanent and universal, and with these forms we met experience and sense-data and produced uniformities which were our Laws of Nature. Thus we were taught that the concern of philosophy was the form-giving constitution of our mind because all theoretical knowledge must fall within these forms. This critical approach is a splendid example of what an attitude

[27] Robert Owen, *A New View of Society or Essays on the Principle of the Formulation of the Human Character*, first essay (London, 1813), p. 9.

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can do in dealing with the so-called operations of our mind.[28] By no means do we deny that material of thought is formed and fashioned. The forming and fashioning, however, is not done by general universal independent forms of thinking, but by the definite directions of our changing attitudes and approaches, that are neither of universal nor of eternal nature, nor are they inherent in Reason "as such".

The great Kantian Revolution was so peaceful a revolution that the science of the day did not even know that anything had happened to it. The revolution did not affect the laws of gravitation nor the course of the heavenly bodies, and no attempt to interfere with science was made till young Schelling came on the scene. Kant talked of thinking, but his forms did not *direct* thought; yet when Kant wanted to direct and affect our thinking he was trying to do so through education and through formation of definite attitudes. So Kant writes as an educator:

> One principle of education which those men especially who form educational schemes should keep before their eyes is this—children ought to be educated, not for the present, but for a possibly improved condition of man in the future; that is, in a manner which is adapted to the idea of humanity and the whole destiny of man. This principle is of great importance. Parents usually educate their children in such a manner that they may be adapted to the present conditions, however degenerate the world may be. But they ought to give them a better education, in order that a better condition of things may thereby be brought about in the future.
>
> Here, however, we encounter two difficulties: (1) Parents usually care only that their children make their way in the world, and (2) Princes consider their subjects only as instruments for their own purposes. Parents care for the home, princes for the state. Neither have as their aim the universal

[28] Interesting is the interpretation of this Kantian attitude in Schiller's *enschliches Wissen* (1795):

> "Weil du liesest in ihr, was du selber in sie geschrieben,
> Weil du in Gruppen fürs Aug' ihre Erscheinungen reihst,
> Deine Schnüre gezogen auf ihrem unendlichen Felde,
> Wahnst du, es fasse dein Geist ahnend die grosse Natur?"

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good and the perfection to which man is destined and for which he has also the natural gifts. But the basis of a scheme of education must be cosmopolitan.[29]

The post-Kantian period of German philosophy plays so great a rôle in the development of Historicism that it is a story by itself and requires special attention. Post-Kantian philosophy was as disturbed as was its political background. Here we see the conscious and unconscious formation of attitudes aiming at purposes entirely different from the modes of thinking of preceding generations. The mind, though of course in its traditional mantle of universality, is here so obviously designed and so frankly a purposeful structure that its attitudinal character is transparent. More than that—the unceremonious wrecking and scrapping of the old, the hasty and unrestrained new structural program, all disclose the passionate local interests of post-Kantian philosophies in particular and illustrate functions of philosophy in general. In Kant's philosophy, in spite of his "Copernican Revolution" and his *Gesetzgebende Vernunft,* Reason is passive. It supplies the form of intuition and the categories which deal with sense-data, and is therefore dependent upon sensation for content and for the existential elements of knowledge.

It was Fichte who undertook to "free" the mind from its dependence upon sensation, emancipating it from all "thinghood" by giving self-sufficiency as well as complete sway to the mind or the "ego" as he chose to call it. For in Fichte's structure the mind is itself the source of spatio-temporal sense-data. It is only because the "imagination" operates in every one unconsciously that we are under the illusion that an external world is forced upon our minds, while in reality this external world is produced by ourselves. Fichte reduces all thinghood to activity and all reality to functions. Activism is the first and last word of the structure. It does not start with any *Thatsache* (fact) but with a *Thathandlung* (action)

[29] F. V. N. Painter, *Great Pedagogical Essays* (New York, 1905), p. 347.

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and all this activism is purposeful. Fichte's *Science of Knowledge* (*Wissenschaftslehre*) was first published as a lecture course in 1794, i. e., in the days when Fichte shared the democratic hopes and ideals of Enlightenment. This extraordinary publication dealt only with the mind, with cognition, and therefore it was apparently "*au-dessus de la mêlée*" so far as human and political affairs were concerned. But the activistic, creative character of its universal principle gave Fichte's philosophy an intransigent spirit, pregnant with implications for revolutionary (as well as counter-revolutionary) practice. Kant's revolution was an old man's revolution, a careful, circumspect, considerate and kindly revolution, uprooting nothing—just pointing out that in the realm of pure reason it is the mind that deals with the external world in accordance with its own forms and categories; but he emphasizes "*das Ding an sich*" as independent of our mind though affecting its operations. The originality of an Epigon usually consists in continuing where the master for good reasons stopped. Thus Fichte gave us a system of thoroughgoing idealistic monism. What was remarkable in the "*Wissenschaftslehre*" was that without borrowing an iota from the external world and relying entirely upon "deductions", he abolished all the dualistic elements in Kantian philosophy. The entire spatio-temporal world became in Fichte a product of the mind. We are not discussing here how he accomplished it. He did it as a flying trapeze performer with words and concepts: daring, agile, facile and evasive.[30]

[30] An illustration of both the aggressive and the evasive is Fichte's fragment, "The Religious Significance of the Science of Knowledge", in *The Science of Knowledge* by J. G. Fichte, translated by Kroeger (London, 1889), pp. 339-379. In another article of his we have however Fichte's own admission that the idea of a personal God is completely unacceptable to him. "On the other hand no one who reflects for a moment and honestly avows the result of his reflection, can remain in doubt that the conception of God as a *particular substance* is impossible and contradictory: and it is right candidly to say this, and to silence the babbling of the schools, in order that the true religion of cheerful virtue may be established in its room." Quoted in William Smith's "Memoir on Fichte" in his translation of Fichte's *Popular Works*, 4th ed. (London, 1889), vol. I, p. 104. The Enlightenment therefore had on Fichte an indelible effect, but it would seem that even Frederick William of Prussia

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While Fichte denied the existence of a personal God, he did believe in a definite world plan as well as in the capacity of Reason to attain an insight as universal and as absolute as a knowledge of such a world plan and of the inevitable destiny of mankind implies. In his "*Grundzüge des Gegenwärtigen Zeitalters*", lectures delivered in Berlin in the winter 1804-1805, Fichte discloses this world plan in which the various historical stages of mankind as a *genus* (*Gattung*) were characterized. The goal of the universal process was a life of Freedom and of Reason.[31] Here Fichte used the concepts of Freedom and Reason, but he used them in terms of his "Idea". One of the great purposes of his particular "Idea" was to make Freedom and Reason mean precisely the opposite of what the concepts imply. Fichte's world plan was not disclosed by "history" but was deduced from the "Idea" of which actual history is but an illustration.[32]

Now let us turn from Fichte the Philosopher to Fichte the Educator. In his famous *Addresses to the German Nation* there are truly astounding passages which deal with the formation of attitudes. He wrote, "The new education must consist essentially in this, *that it completely destroys freedom of will* in the soul which it undertakes to cultivate and produces on the contrary strict necessity in the decisions of will, the opposite being impossible. Such a will can henceforth be relied upon with confidence and certainty." In another place in talking about the youth to be educated, Fichte admonishes the educator, "If you want to influence him at all, you must do more than merely talk to him; you must fashion him, and fashion him in such a way that he simply cannot will otherwise than you wish him to will."[33] Fichte called it the "New Education", but

was to some extent affected by Enlightenment, for thus he wrote, strange resolution for a Prussian "*Summus Episcopus*", on Fichte's petition for a permission to reside in Prussia after his forced departure from Jena, "Ist es wahr, dass er mit dem lieben Gotte in Feindseligkeiten begriffen ist; so mag dies der liebe Gott mit ihm abmachen; mir thut es nichts." *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[31] Fichte, *Sämmtliche Werke* (1845), vol. 7, pp. 11-12.

[32] *Ibid.*, vol. 7, pp. 139-140.

[33] J. G. Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation*, translated by R. F. Jones and G. H. Turnbull (Chicago, 1922), pp. 20-21.

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his writings and those of his contemporaries bear witness to the exemplary efficacy of the old education.

When we find an abrupt change from Cosmopolitanism to an extreme form of Nationalism, from the defense of the inalienable rights of men to a complete subordination of the individual to the State; when we find the moralist of yesterday looking to Machievelli's *Prince* for guidance and inspiration; and when we find it not only in a Fichte, but in a Schelling, a Schlegel, a Hegel . . . then such a close coincidence in the pattern of behavior indicates first of all, and quite obviously, the identity of the situation that was to be met, and secondly the identity or close similarity of the emotional and intellectual set-up with which the situation was met. It indicates therefore conditioned emotions, controlling a conditioned type of reasoning and hence controlling rationalizations, philosophies and literary propaganda.

The Old Education, it would seem, did well enough. What it did was to implant deep national loyalties and emotions, which of course the philosopher was sure to share with a common corporal or scrubbing woman; and therefore when acting upon these emotions, he acted in a representative capacity. Under changing circumstances, when the people were seeking a different orientation, it was the rôle of the philosopher to formulate the new attitudes which were to crystallize the thought and affect the will of his people.

The question may arise, why should the purely temporary and functional character of the newly formulated attitude not be frankly admitted? Why give it universal and absolute qualities which it clearly did not possess? Obviously because it gained force by appearing as "the absolute truth". An attitude that would make its début as "serviceable", but without any claim whatsoever upon truth or virtue, hardly makes much of an appeal; for "truth and virtue", themselves social values, are the principal criteria upon which all other social values rest. We have therefore been emotionally so conditioned as to regard these concepts not only with due reverence but as an essential specification of a social attitude. Under certain historical conditions, Reason and Freedom must also be revered.

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It was because of the prevailing reverence for the words Reason and Freedom that a man like Fichte and his idealistic successors used them. These words meant in Fichte's "*Grundzüge*" pretty nearly the opposite of what they implied in English and in current German usage. That is precisely why Schelling was frank in emphasizing that "Philosophy" is most opposed to the Reason of Enlightenment and to every prevailing popular concept of Reason.

In the Napoleonic Era, idealistic German philosophy was fighting Enlightenment and democracy. Today German "philosophy" fights what is left of the "Diktat of Versailles". We find such implications in any "coördinated" German book. Take for example a recent book on Fichte by Professor Bergmann of the University of Leipzig. He tells us that the free German spirit of Fichte could not stand for *servitude* even in matters of cognition, it rebelled against being affected by the "*Ding an sich*"; thus Fichte's was a rebellion of the free and sovereign German ego against the yoke of the *Ding an sich*.[34] One sees, Professor Bergmann points out, that not logical reasons but "characterological" reasons have decided Fichte. Quite so, and "characterological" reasons are possibly also moving the pen of this present-day German philosopher. For while he explains to us on page twenty-one that Fichte represented the North-German Protestant spirit, he tells us on page twenty-eight that this spirit (that seven pages ago was Protestant) could not accept the "*passio asiatica*", the Christian Religion of Humility, Grace and Redemption, and therefore

[34] "Kant hatte gelehrt, dass der erkennende Mensch durch das Ding an sich, die äussere Wirklichkeitswelt, 'affiziert' werde, also bei aller seiner freiformenden (apriorischen) Erkenntnisstätigkeit immer noch einem von aussen kommenden Anstoss unterläge und ihm gehorche. Völlig frei war also bei Kant nur der praktische Mensch, nicht aber der theoretische.

"Das passte Fichte nicht. Weg mit dem Anstoss von aussen, weg mit jeder Instanz, der das freie Ich gehorchen müsse. Weg mit aller Knechtschaft, und sei es auch einer solchen der blossen Erkenntniss. Auch jene Gruppe der notwendigen und unwillkürlichen Vorstellungen, die auszuwechseln wir nicht die Macht haben und die uns von aussen aufgezwungen werden, sollen nach Fichte frei durch unser souveränes Geistes-Ich gemacht sein. Und nur so dürfe der Kritizismus ausgelegt und verstanden werden. . . ." Ernst Bergmann, *Fichte und der Nationalsocialismus* (Breslau, 1933), p. 19.

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what triumphed in Fichte over Christianity was—the *furor teutonicus moralis*.[35]

At the beginning of this discussion we pointed out that because we "understand" things in our own way (i. e., in terms of our own general and specific attitudes), we imagine that we "understand" concepts, ideas or words that belong to a foreign culture or a different plane of thought. This is not the case. But our understanding is only "our" understanding; the very words have only the meaning that *our* culture supplies. We indicated how impossible it was for the Jews to grasp the new meaning of the Messiah. To come from the sublime down to the ridiculous, it was equally impossible for most of us to understand what the *furor teutonicus moralis* of German idealistic philosophy contributed to existing European civilization. Reason, we knew, did not mean reason; but did Freedom mean freedom?

> We have [writes Fichte] explained unequivocally enough, and so as to place our meaning beyond the reach of misconception,

[35] "So wie Posa bei Schiller ausruft: 'Ich kann nicht Fürstendiener sein!' so bekennt auch Fichte: 'Ich, d.h. mein hoher, stolzer, freier Geist kann nicht Diener des Dinges an sich, einer toten Sache sein!'

"Mann sieht, dass in dieser heldischen Philosophie logische Gründe gar nicht mehr entscheiden. Charakterologische Gründe entscheiden. Wer das Bedürfniss hat vermöge seiner Naturgewachsenheit, sich an etwas ausser ihm zu halten . . . die innerlich unfrei, unselbständig, ohnmächtig sind . . . sie werden auch in der Erkenntnisslehre Dogmatiker sein. Jene anderen aber, die sich nicht wohl fühlen in der Abhängigkeit . . . jene Heroen der freien Intelligenztat, sie werden den Königsweg des 'vollstandigen Idealismus' gehn.

"Mann erkennt hier den deutsch-nordischen, ja den protestantischen Charakter Fichteschen Freiheits-Philosophie. Der Freie-Geist-Gläubige beugt sich vor keinem Papst in der Welt, auch nicht vor dem 'Ding-an-sich'. Glaubenszwang (Dogmatismus) in jeder Form der erkenntnissmässigen wie der religiösen, ist ihm unerträglich. Er kann nicht atmen, wenn es ausser ihm noch eine Weltmacht gibt, ein Sein an sich, eine thronende Majestät, sei sie irdisch oder göttlich." *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

"Mann kann das Sittengesetz nicht grösser und reiner formulieren, als Fichte getan hat. Mann kann es nicht nordischer, nicht germanischer formulieren. Denn uber die *passio asiatica* (asiatische Leidenslehre) fremdländischer Ethiken, über die indische Willensabtötung, den gedämpften Seelenwillen der Stoa, die romisch- christliche Ergebungs-, Gnaden- und Erlösungsreligion, die alle nicht dem germanischen Sittlichkeitsempfinden entsprechen, triumphiert hier der *furor teutonicus moralis*." *Ibid.*, p. 28.

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> that this interpenetration of the citizen by the state, and the changing of his whole outward activity into an instrument of the state, is not here made the subject of censure, as it has been by a certain visionary scheme of unrestricted freedom, which sometimes calls itself Philosophy; but on the contrary, we have shown it to be a necessary purpose of the state and of nature.[36]

Political freedom and freedom of conscience were "invented dreams" (*ersonnene Traüme*) of foolish men, who did not see the truth of the higher justice and of nature. This verdict is Hegel's.[37] The state has no higher object than to exterminate those who oppose and undermine it.[38] Yet in spite of such clear, forthright statements, neither the politico-philosophical nor the moral contributions of German idealistic philosophy were fully understood by the English-speaking world, for this literal-minded world insisted upon understanding Reason, Morality and Freedom in its own traditional and literal way, and thus the real contribution made by the *furor teutonicus moralis,* as well as *intellectualis,* remained unappreciated. The same of course is true of the philosophico-theological contributions of German idealism.

One often hears about the deep religious spirit of Fichte and Hegel. This is almost entertaining. They killed and rejected Christ but used Him for social and political purposes, and we may add that they did to the traditional concepts of Reason, Freedom and Morality just about what they did to Christianity.[39] Even Schelling, the same Schelling who, when he was

[36] J. G. Fichte, *Popular Works,* translated from the German by William Smith, vol. II (London, 1889), p. 238.

[37] "So töricht sind die Menschen über idealische Gesichten der uneigennützigen Rettung von Gewissens- und politischer Freiheit, und in der innern Hitze der Begeisterung die Wahrheit, die in der Macht liegt, zu übersehen, und so ein Menschenwerk der Gerechtigkeit und ersonnene Traüme gegen die höhere Gerechtigkeit der Natur und der Wahrheit sicher zu glauben, welche aber der Not sich bedient die Menschen unter ihre Gewalt, aller Ueberzeugung und Theorie und innern Hitze zum Trotz zu zwingen." Hegel, *Sämmtliche Werke* (Lasson edition, *Schriften zur Politik und Rechtsphilosophie,* 1913), vol. VII, p. 89.

[38] "Und der Staat hat keine höhere Pflicht als sich selbst zu erhalten und die Macht dieser Verbrecher auf die sicherste Art zu vernichten." *Ibid.,* p. 114.

[39] Nietzsche's contempt for Christianity is also nothing new in German literature. In 1907 Nohl published Hegel's *Theologische Jugendschriften.* The

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closely associated with Fichte, was hardly a religious spirit,[40] was a few years later shocked by Fichte's using God and religion as a household remedy for purposes social and utilitarian.[41] But it will be said—was not Fichte's entire world structure definitely and purposefully "moral"? Quite true, but its morality consisted in the *total negation of the individual and his complete surrender to the state.* The state on the other hand was to be completely immoral. None of the state's undertakings with other states was worth the paper it was written on. "In seinen Verhältnisse zu anderen Staaten gibt es weder Gesetz noch Recht, ausser dem Rechte der Stärkeren."[42] Not only were treaties not binding, but Fichte also accepted deception as the normal order of things.

> *This is the natural and necessary course of things, whether it be confessed or not,*[43] whether it be recognized or not. That a state, even when taken on the very point of warfare, should solemnly assert its love of peace and its aversion to conquest, is nothing; for, in the first place it must make this averment and so hide its real intention if it would succeed in its design; and the well-known principle, "Threaten war that thou mayest have peace" may also be inverted in this way—"Promise peace that

"youth" was thirty. Hegel had nothing but scorn for a religion that considered the shedding of human blood a sin! Hegel, *Theologische Jugendschriften* (1907), p. 229.

[40] Schelling on November 1, 1799, sent to Fichte a long philosophical poem which incidentally contains a profession of faith:

> "Mein einzig Religion ist die,
> Das ich liebe ein schoenes Knie,
> Volle Brust und schlanke Hüften,
> Dazu Blumen mit süssen Düften,
> Aller Lust volle Nährung,
> Aller Liebe süsse Gewährung."

G. L. Plitt, *Aus Schellings Leben. In Briefen* (Leipzig, 1869), vol. I, p. 284.

[41] "Es ist ein Greuel Gott aus der Sittlichkeit folgern zu wollen. Nicht etwa nur, wie manche die Annahme eines Gottes nuetzlich finden als mittels zur Moralitaet. Solche Menschen pflegen alles oekonomisch anzuschauen, Gott ist ihnen ein Hausmittel, das jeder für sich brauchen kann, um sich vermittelst derselben in der Moralitaet zu stärken, die so viele Mühe kostet." Schelling, *Werke*, vol. VI, p. 55.

[42] Fichte, *Nachgelassene Werke*, vol. III, p. 427.

[43] The italics are ours. V.G.S.

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thou mayest begin war with advantage"—and in the second place it may be wholly in earnest with the assurance at the time, so far as it knows itself: but let the favourable opportunity for aggrandizement present itself and the previous good resolution is forgotten.[44]

The immediate follower of Fichte was Schelling, to whom little, if any, attention was paid in the English-speaking world. Yet Schelling undoubtedly influenced Hegel. One could even safely assume that Hegel's general starting points were suggested by Schelling. Since however Schelling detested the way in which Hegel used his "ideas", Hegel's elaborated system remains uncontestedly his own.[45]

[44] Fichte, *Popular Works*, vol. II (London, 1889), p. 231.

[45] Schelling informed Victor Cousin in a letter written November 27, 1828, that Hegel stole his ideas but that Hegel was as incapable of developing these ideas as he was incapable of conceiving them. In another place in the same letter, Schelling characterized Hegel's relation to his own ideas as that of a crawling insect who appropriates the leaf of a plant by covering it with his web, "Qui a cru s'emparer de mes idées comme l'insecte croit s'approprier la feuille d'une plante, qu'il a entortillé de son filage." G. L. Plitt, *Aus Schellings Leben. In Briefen* (Leipzig, 1870), vol. III, p. 40; see also pp. 41-42. One could perhaps impeach the harshness of Schelling's judgment by proving that Schelling was in the habit of making such statements. For instance, when Professor Kapp in 1829 dedicated a book of his to Schelling, Schelling replied in the third person, placing Professor Kapp in the "thievish plagiarist-guild", and in good German he begged to acknowledge the dedication by informing the professor that he was wagging his tail like a dog, so as not to be booted as he so richly deserved, "Um durch hündisches schönthun und schweifwedeln, die wohlverdienten Füsstritte abzuwenden." Kuno Fischer, *Geschichte der neueren Philosophie*, vol. VI, Part I, p. 364. Even at the age of seventy he started proceedings against his erstwhile friend, Professor Paulus, then aged eighty-two, as a "plagiarist". The manner is peculiarly arrogant, but German boorishness must not be judged too harshly, for where there is subservience and servility to one's "betters", arrogance, impertinence and a code of assertion become the plebeian ideal of what an independent "gentleman" might and should be. That is why, incidentally, there is no word of opprobrium in the German language for a "bully"; rather do we find its equivalent in the *Herrennatur*, the ideal that poor Nietzsche preached and which found such ready and popular acceptance.

To revert however to Schelling's accusations that he was robbed by everybody of his ideas, we may appreciate the irony of the situation by observing that Schelling himself was as quick-witted as he was light-fingered in the realm of ideas. He probably never understood that this was his forte; one could almost say that it was his vocation in the sphere of philosophy. He accused

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Where Schelling unquestionably affected Hegel was in laying the groundwork for the new dialectic method. We must remember that "nature" was practically ignored by Fichte. It was a strictly dialectic system, with teleological activism as its mainstay. This universal teleology was Fichte's "moral order". To these "moral" considerations everything was subordinated. Indeed in this system not only religion but even theoretical experience and cognition were subordinated to practical requirements. It was void of color of art or of beauty; it was puritanic in its niggardly single-mindedness and it practically ignored nature. But in the second half of the eighteenth century discoveries in the field of magnetism

others of being what he himself really was in a grand way. He used every idea that floated in the air, or was suggested here by a philosopher, there by a poet and elsewhere by a physicist; he was the synthetic philosopher of other men's ideas. However, he was so susceptible to "leads" that no sooner did he sketch a system, than newly suggested ideas led him to another sketch of another system. Hence such an inexhaustible supply of "unfinished" Schellings. That the "leads" which he himself received could be used by somebody else as well, or that his own sketchy ideas could be elaborated into systems, Schelling seems to have realized only well enough to cry "theft". Whether he was aware of his own "thieving" no one can tell. A valuable document relating to this subject and to the history of philosophy is a foolscap sheet of paper in Hegel's handwriting, written in 1796, which was purchased at an auction by the Berlin Royal Library. Dilthey's careful investigations led to the conclusion that it was a copy made by Hegel of Schelling's attempt to systematize the ideas of the poet, Hölderlin. Schelling at that time moved in a different plane, indeed his ideas were quite opposed to those expressed in the manuscript in question, yet several years later we find these ideas to contain all the essential headings of Schelling's later philosophy. See more about it in Ernest Cassirer, *Idee und Gestalt* (Berlin, 1921), pp. 130-132. A very generous estimate of Schelling's relation to Hegel is in Gans's preface to Hegel's *Philosophie des Rechts*. He writes about Schelling, "Er ist uns der jugendliche Entdecker des Standpunktes der neueren Philosophie, der Columbus, der die Inseln und Küsten einer Welt auffand, dessen Festland anderen zu erobern überlassen blieb. Aber wie es so häufig geht, dass diejenigen, die in der Unmittelbarkeit ihres Geistes einen grossen Schritt vorwärts gethan, nicht mehr so viel von dieser Kraft besitzen, um die Ausführungen und Einarbeitungen zu Stande zu bringen: so ist auch diese Philosophie in ihren logischen Entwickelung, und der dieser entsprechenden dialektischen Methode, an einen andern übertragen, der nicht so sehr, wie Schelling, das leichte Hinwerfen des Genies, als vielmehr im höheren Grade die gründliche Ausdauer des Mannesalters und die substantielle Kraft sich über den ganzen Reichthum der Welt zu verbreiten besass." Hegel's *Werke*, 1st ed. (Berlin, 1833), vol. VIII, pp. xii–xiii.

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and electricity, physics and chemistry, were focusing public attention on nature. We therefore find young Schelling attempting to apply the Fichtean cardinal categories of purposiveness, dialectic and activism to the construction of a philosophy of nature. Schelling tried to introduce purposiveness into the very tissues of the physical sciences and to interpret them in terms of organic wholes. If we are not mistaken, Goethe expressed some such ideas long before Schelling. Schelling further used the then new and popular electrodynamic concepts and the ideas of Volta in transferring dialectic from the mind into nature, where it is made to assume the form of polarity so as to produce differentiation. Here we have the foundation of the Hegelian dialectic, a dialectic process of nature itself. On one occasion Schelling ascribes all differences in quality to differences in "electricity".[46] Yet it was this general duality of nature, its irritability, with or without "polarity", which produced the endless activity, the ceaseless dialectic process of the organic world.[47] Of course Schelling did not follow Fichte in "freeing" us from "thinghood". What his philosophy attempted to do "organically" was to free nature from the concept of being a dead mechanism and to give it a purposeful and hence an organic movement. That did not mean that he would deny Newton's celestial mechanics, but rather that like LeSage he would accept the descriptive side of the law of gravitation but supplement it by incorporating the mechanism into an idea of a higher organic dynamism.[48] True enough, his dictum is

[46] "Alle Qualität ist Elektricität, und umgekehrt die Elektricität eines Körpers ist auch seine Qualität. . . . Alles, was für uns sensibel ist (sensibel im engern Sinne des Wortes, wie Farben, Geschmack u.s.w.) ist ohne Zweifel für uns sensibel nur durch Elektricität, und das einzig unmittelbar Sensibel möchte wohl die Elektricität seyn, worauf schon die allgemeine Dualität jedes Sinnes führt, da in der Natur eigentlich nur eine Dualität ist." Schelling, *Werke* (1858), vol. III, p. 295.

[47] "Der äussere Reiz hat keine andere Funktion, als diese Duplicität wiederherzustellen. Aber sobald diese Duplicität wiederhergestellt ist, sind auch alle Bedingungen zur Bewegung wiederhergestellt." Schelling, *Werke* (1858), vol. III, p. 170.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 274.

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often quoted that to philosophize about nature is to create nature, but he meant by this a creative insight into the living and pulsing meaning of nature as a whole. Schelling was constantly changing, yet in his change he craved for constancy.[49] But it was not only in the dialectic of nature that Schelling was the forerunner of Hegel; more important was his peculiar quasi-Platonic "idea" that gave to nature as a whole a complete and organic meaning. While Hegel gave it the character of an historical process, Schelling symbolized it as a work of art. A work of art was to him a symbol of any organic structure. For a work of art must be self-sufficient and complete, and in any work of art as well as in any organic structure the plan must precede the execution of the details, the whole must determine and is prior to its parts, not vice versa. Here we have Hegel's "*das Wahre ist das ganze*".[50] Indeed to Schelling philosophy had no other object but the knowledge of what is unconditioned, eternal and immutable.[51] Because of this high vocation it would seem that perhaps philosophy has little if anything to do with the political views of the common people. Not so, however, for Schelling taught us that philosophy was about the only means of preserving the existing social order. France had a revolution because it had no "real" philosophers in the period preceding the Revolution.[52] And, outside of France, if there was one thing which

[49] Thus in the *Darlegung des wahren Verhältnisses der Naturphilosophie zu ler verbesserten Fichteschen Lehre*, 1806, Schelling rescues the absoluteness of God, and saves Him from degenerating into a product of the human mind— *Verke*, vol. 7, p. 25 — but even two years before that in his *System der resammten Philosophie etc.*, 1804, he defines philosophy as "die ruhige Conemplation der Wesenheit des Absoluten". *Werke*, vol. 6, p. 165.

[50] Compare Schelling's *Werke*, vol. V, p. 255; also vol. IV, pp. 400-401.

[51] "Was an sich, was ewig, was unveraenderlich ist" — Schelling, *Werke*, ol. VI, p. 141.

[52] "Gerade diejenige Nation, die, einige wenige Individuen früherer Zeiten usgenommen (denen man aber gewiss keinen Einfluss auf die politischen egebenheiten der spaetern zuschreiben wird), in keiner Epoche, am wenigsten in erjenigen, welche der Revolution voranging, Philosophen hatte, war es, die das eispiel einer durch rohe Greuel bezeichneten Umwälzung mit derselben Frevelaftigkeit gab, mit welcher sie nachher zu neuen Formen der Sklaverei zurückekehrt ist." Schelling, *Werke*, vol. V, p. 258. See also p. 191 and vol. VII, 348.

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could stop the approaching flood, it was "philosophy".[53] So we find in Schelling's philosophy as well the function of saving society.[54]

In the more recent popular literature Schelling has usually been presented as the father of a genetic and developmental theory, the real originator of an evolutionary doctrine. In Kuno Fischer's work on Schelling there are two chapters—one entitled *"Die genetische Philosophie"*, the other *"Die Entwicklungslehre"*.[55] The construction put by Fischer on some statements of Schelling's and his vague reference to K. Fr. Kielmeyer's speech (1793) are quite untenable, but these unwarranted observations are probably responsible for giving Darwin a new and quite undesirable father in the person of Schelling. Schelling believed that nature, both organic and inorganic, as well as human history constituted a hierarchical order, which revealed a similarity of structure. But this similarity was not a result of development, nor did it imply that higher species evolved from the lower. As there was no connection between the different realms of the organic world, there is none between the organic and the inorganic. The idea that the organic evolved from the inorganic was to Schelling *"Ein Ungeheuer und eine Ungereimtheit"*.[56]

[53] "Wenn dem einbrechenden Strom, der immer sichtbarer Hohes und Niederes vermischt, seit auch der Poebel zu schreiben anhebt und jeder Plebejer in den Rang der Urteiler sich erhebt, irgend etwas Einhalt zu tun vermag, so ist es die Philosophie. . . ." *Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 591.

[54] See for instance his "Deduction", by which he makes out of the "Rechtsgesetz" a "Naturgesetz" (vol. III, p. 583). His ideas of dealing with rationalistic liberalism lest they compete with true philosophy are simple and forceful. He regards as "preiswürdig, dass eine kraftvolle Regierung unter diesem Volk jene leern Abstraktionen proscribirt" (vol. V, p. 259). While he uses his "ideas" as a proper "philosopher" should use them, i. e., for authoritarian purposes, to combat the democratic and relativistic "homo mensura" principle, the poor devil probably did not quite realize that that is exactly what the Platonic-Socratic "Idee" was invented for. He is, however applying the invention well and to the point. "Die Staatsverfassung ist ein Bild der Verfassung des Ideenreichs. In diesem ist das absolute als die Macht vor der alles ausfliesst, der Monarch" (vol. V, p. 591).

[55] Kuno Fischer, *Geschichte der Neueren Philosophie*, Bd. VI, Buch II, pp 428 *et seq.*, 473 *et seq.*

[56] Schelling, *Werke*, vol. VI, p. 388.

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Similarly plant life was completely separated from animal life.[57] If anything, the higher forms of life preceded the lower ones; accordingly Schelling assumed the existence of an original ideal race of men, "*ein Urvolk*", which figured later in Fichte. Who was the originator of this nonsense we do not know, but in Novalis the "*Lehrlinge zu Sais*" were in search of the remains of the ideal race of which present mankind is but a degenerated remnant,[58] and K. G. Anton in his *Geschichte der Teutschen Nation,* 1793, mentions an "*Urnation*" as the direct progenitor of the Teutons. This *Urvolk* as the source of our culture was considered by Schelling in his *Vorlesungen über die Methode des Akademischen Studiums,* 1803, and accepted with amplifications in his *Philosophie und Religion,* 1804. Seriously to consider Schelling as an originator of the modern evolutionary theory is a fantastic interpretation. It is even difficult to understand how German Historicism and especially the German historical school of law could adopt him even as an illegitimate father, for as in nature, so in history he is the philosopher of Discontinua, of different books and different cantos in God's poem of creation and of history.

To the great and systematic effort of Hegel, we have previously given so much attention [59] that we would here but call the reader's attention to his concept of Education. The infinite individual peculiarities are discounted; the minds of the many are brought by education under one rule, which forces their spirit to will and to know what is generally accepted. "This transformation of the soul and only this transformation is Education".[60] Now in what way did Hegel want our souls to be transformed, just what general knowledge and what general will did he wish to implant there? Obviously that of his system. What motivated him to undertake and work out this great system of the dialectic logic and the dialectic

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 393.

[58] Novalis' *Schriften* hrsg. v. Heilborn, vol. I, Part I, p. 242.

[59] See "Approaches to History, III", POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, September 1932, pp. 416-439.

[60] Hegel, *Werke* (1st ed.), vol. VII, Part II, p. 82.

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process? We have to this question his own reply. Hegel told us why he adopted his dialectic logic and to what "frightful" and subversive results the previous modes of thinking were leading. Presumably Hegel was firmly convinced that his dialectic logic would counteract the destructive effects to which traditional logic was lending itself. There are two implications in Hegel's statement. The first is that a philosophical attitude actually gives to a mind its very structure. If Hegel's dialectic can stop a mind from thinking in a destructive way and lead the mind to accept whatever religion is in vogue or whatever state is in power rather than to question the powers that be—then even the very form of a thought-process is a structure supplied by the philosopher. The other implication is that the philosophical structure actually affects the human, i.e., the social and political, behavior of the masses, which of course it can only do if the particular way of thinking is established by "Education". Such implications should have led to a consideration of the "attitude", but they did not. For what the philosopher could never do was "to know oneself"; therefore Hegel's admittedly functional attitude was regarded by himself as an insight into and exposition of the movement of the Absolute Spirit.

Now Hegel claimed [61] that it was in the interests of Religion, of the State, of Law and Order and of Morality that he conceived logic in a "deeper" sense than a mere science of formal thinking, that the old way of thinking compromised the higher relationships of life. Thinking undermined the power of the existing order of things. Old régimes tumbled as victims of thought. Thinking assailed religion; assailed the views of religion that were based on revelation and undermined the old faith. That was the attitude of the Greek philosophers toward the prevailing religion, and that is why the philosophers were exiled or killed, for religion was connected with the State, and the undermining of religion imperilled the State, "*so machte sich das Denken in der Wirklichkeit geltend und übte die ungeheurste Wirksamkeit.*" Such was the frightful activity

[61] Hegel, *Werke*, vol. VI, Sec. 19, Zusatz 3, pp. 33-34.

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which thinking exercised in the world of Reality. To save this world from the presumptions of such thinking, Hegel introduced his own particular way of thinking—which of course he also expected to affect Reality. The important thing in this statement of Hegel's is that he acknowledged the political motivation as well as the political purpose of his dialectic method. We have seen similar motivation in Fichte and in Schelling. It is interesting to note that the changing attitudes and purposes that they had in common indicate how effectively their emotions were conditioned and how identical situations produced in them identical passionate reactions which they shared not only with each other but with those of their own people who had not the remotest interest in the problems and methods of philosophy.

We can see from the above that philosophers paid no attention whatsoever to attitudes as giving form and direction to our thought, but as educators their fundamental concern was to condition our mind and implant definite attitudes that were to control our thought and our conduct.

Philosophy may appear too aloof and sublime a subject to be part of the education of little children. "Philosophy" however does direct education no matter who the educator is. "My principal aim in the establishment of a teaching body is to have a means for directing political and moral opinions", said Napoleon to his Conseil d'Etat.[62] Napoleon may not have been a philosopher, but political and moral opinions imply conscious or unconscious philosophies. Besides, the structure of a mind implies a design; this design is supplied by some sort of philosophy while the execution of the design is left to education. Naturally we use the words philosophy and education in their broadest sense. We by no means limit it to the labeled volumes on philosophy and education, but gladly in-

[62] "Paroles de Napoleon au Conseil d'Etat", quoted in W. H. Kilpatrick's *Source Book in the Philosophy of Education* (New York, 1934), p. 17.

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clude a Rosenberg together with the teachers of the Talmud, Indian medicine-men, the ancient lore of the Zulus as well as the civilized and respectable masters of Balliol. Judd, in his interesting book on the psychology of social institutions, writes:

> Modern society has reached the stage in its evolution when it aggressively imposes its institutions on the individual. It has gone so far as to set up special agencies in its schools in order to insure the transformation of every child, so far as possible, into a being able and willing to conform to the social pattern of action and thought. Not only so, but in many of its other institutional organizations society expends a great deal of energy in the aggressive promotion of social practices. We use the general term "education" to describe these facts. . . . The sole purpose of this discussion is to make clear by concrete illustrations the fact that education is a socializing process. No consideration of individual traits however comprehensive can explain what goes on during the educational process. That process is one of transforming individuals so that they will conform to social institutions.[63]

Judd's observation is correct; doubtful only is his reference to a "stage of evolution".

John Dewey gives perhaps the crispest definition of education in Paul Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education*: "Speaking generally, education signifies the sum total of processes by which a community or social group, whether small or large, transmits its acquired power and aims with a view to securing its own continued existence and growth." [64]

The political motivation is implied in this definition even if not so emphatically as in Bertrand Russell:

> . . . Almost all education has a political motive: it aims at strengthening some group, national or religious, or even social, in the competition with other groups. It is this motive in the main which determines the subjects taught, the knowledge

[63] Charles H. Judd, *The Psychology of Social Institutions* (New York 1926), pp. 333-340.

[64] John Dewey, article on "Education" in Paul Monroe (ed.), *Cyclopedia of Education* (New York, Macmillan, 1911), p. 398.

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> offered, and the knowledge withheld, and also decides what mental habits the pupils are expected to acquire.[65]

This statement may seem politically biased, and yet what Russell says is practically implied in any conservative attempt to define education. So Paul Monroe tells us that the accepted historic meaning of the term "education" is that of a definitely organized institutional attempt to realize in individuals the ideals controlling a given people.[66] The aspirations of a people or of a group necessarily imply definite attitudes and training in such attitudes. George S. Counts recently published an essay under the title *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* The title is startling and yet his observations, seemingly radical, contain nothing that is not the actual description of the process of formulation of certain attitudes through education. The only thing new in Counts is that he indiscreetly discards the veil of "impartiality" which is not only of vital use to a democratic liberal state, but precludes certain dogmatic—and of necessity totalitarian—religious, economic, social, etc. assumptions which neither the conditions nor the traditions of our own society could justify. But Counts's observations are nevertheless valuable because they give a new emphasis to things that are so very, very old.

> There is the fallacy that the school should be impartial in its emphases, that no bias should be given instruction. We have already observed how the individual is inevitably molded by the culture into which he is born. In the case of the school a similar process operates and presumably is subject to a degree of conscious direction. My thesis is that complete impartiality is utterly impossible, that the school must shape attitudes, develop tastes, and even impose ideas. It is obvious that the whole

[65] Bertrand Russell and Dora Russell, *Prospects of Industrial Civilization* (New York, 1923), p. 159.

[66] Paul Monroe, *Source Book in the History of Education* (New York), Preface, p. v. More or less similar is Cole's definition: ". . . education is the process by which the more mature members of a community train and instruct the less mature, in order that the latter may conform to certain standards, and inherit certain social acquisitions. . . ." Percival R. Cole, *A History of Educational Thought* (Oxford, 1931), Introduction, p. vii.

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> of creation cannot be brought into the school. This means that some selection must be made of teachers, curricula, architecture, methods of teaching. And in the making of the selection the dice must always be weighted in favor of this or that. . . . I would merely contend that as educators we must make many choices involving the development of attitudes in boys and girls and that we should not be afraid to acknowledge the faith that is in us or mayhap the forces that compel us.[67]

Our mind is a vast realm of attitudes. Take away from our mind its conscious and unconscious attitudes and only uncoördinated sense perceptions would be left—a living garbage can of stray and unrelated experience. Years ago John Dewey pointed out that " we bring to the simplest observation a complex apparatus of habits, of accepted meanings and techniques. Otherwise observation is the blankest of stares, and the natural object is a tale told by an idiot full only of sound and fury." [68] These techniques are definite approaches, the habits are unconscious attitudes with which we are operating. The formation of attitudes begins with our learning the meaning of words and with many of the earliest words that we utter come implied values. The training of an infant is a training in habits and in the knowledge of what is good and what is bad, what is right and what is wrong. With speech comes communication, and communication has to be responsive; it postulates degrees of understanding; understanding cannot be individual and isolated; understanding is no more individual than speech is. Some even have gone so far as to deny the very possibility of thinking without language.[69] Understanding has to be communal and thus our thought process has to correspond to the thought process of others. Thus a heritage falls upon us and

[67] George S. Counts, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* (New York, 1932), pp. 19-20.

[68] John Dewey, *Experience and Nature* (Chicago, 1925), p. 219.

[69] " Origo idearum idem est ac origo sermonis; cogitatio enim impossibilis est absque sermone; sermo autem, et proinde ideae nobis societate transmittuntur." J. S. Hickey, *Summula Philosophiae Scholasticae*, vol. II, *Cosmologia et Psychologia*, p. 361. Dublinii, apud M. H. Gill et Filium, 1915-17. Father Hickey probably quite intentionally limits thinking and intellectual processes to human beings.

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we have no power to decline the heritage of a culture into which we are born. This culture consists of a vast empire of attitudes which underlie our thinking, our mental and moral behavior, and control our emotional reactions. Our school system is part and parcel of that culture; it cannot therefore radically change unless circumstances force a revolutionary change or unless conditions force a collapse of the culture that is ours. This culture, because of intercommunication, is not merely that of our particular section of the country, it shares most of its attitudes with the country as a whole. Indeed it is not limited to a country, for we find that the same dominant attitudes characterize other countries; that is why we talk about the culture of the Hellenic world or of the English-speaking world. Of some of our attitudes we are conscious, of others we are not, but all of them are functional. With them me meet the outside world. This outside world we always "understand"; we understand it, but the differences in our modes of understanding are very great. The Bushman understands his world in his way, but Plato could hardly function in that world.

The attitudes crystallized by the philosopher in all ages inevitably had social functions. For sheer acceptance and conformity are in themselves social functions. However the mind that the philosopher dealt with was a mind somehow imbedded in human nature as such. Such a mind does not exist. The mind that does exist is in its nature a collective enterprise and therefore a social institution. This mind however has to function in the world of experience where it is confronted with properties of concrete matter and its thoughtless universal behavior. Thus the smoke goes up the chimney just the same whether in the Kremlin of Soviet Russia or under the *Führerprincip* of the Third Reich.[70]

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

VLADIMIR G. SIMKHOVITCH

[70] To be continued.—ED.

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REVIEWS

Ethiopia: A Pawn in European Diplomacy. By ERNEST WORK. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1935.—xii, 354 pp. $2.50.

This book probably constitutes the best discussion in English of the involved and sordid efforts of the European powers to subjugate Ethiopia, and incidentally to deceive each other, that has appeared since the publication, many years ago, of Leonard Woolf's *Empire and Commerce in Africa.* Professor Work, who for a time was educational adviser to the Ethiopian government, bases his study upon a good deal of recent diplomatic source material and develops some hitherto little noticed incidents in diplomatic history.

The great unifier of Abyssinia was Menelik II. Something of an imperialist himself, he declared that if Europe was going to divide up the continent of Africa, he should have his share. He claimed for his country that part of Africa which extended from the Nile to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Had his claim been recognized, Ethiopia today would have included part of Egypt, and Italian Eritrea, British and French Somaliland, as well as other territory.

The construction of the Suez Canal defeated Menelik's plans. England took Egypt in order to safeguard the Canal, and in accordance with the laws of imperialism, Egypt wished to be in a position to dominate Ethiopia, in order to control the free flow of the waters of the Blue Nile and the Atbara. In withdrawing from the Egyptian condominium, France did not intend to give England a free hand in Africa. At the time of the bombardment of Alexandria in 1881, France purchased Obock on the Gulf of Tajura from the Danakil chiefs.

Two years later England succeeded in establishing itself in British Somaliland, a few miles' distance from the Italians in Assab, and all three powers had now secured points of attack on the Red Sea coast.

Could Ethiopia resist the onslaught? Occupied with the problems of Sudan, England now encouraged Italian aspirations in Ethiopia as a means of checkmating France. In 1889 Italy induced Menelik to conclude the treaty of Uccialli, which presumably made Ethiopia an Italian protectorate. In 1890 England and Germany recognized

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this protectorate, and in 1891 and 1894 England made further treaties recognizing almost the whole of Ethiopia as being under an Italian sphere of influence. In return Italy recognized British interests on both banks of the Nile and agreed to a highland route for the Cape-to-Cairo railroad. It is interesting to note that the kingdom of Ethiopia disappeared from the British official maps between 1894 and 1896.

King Menelik of Ethiopia had a different idea of the situation. He denied that he had accepted an Italian protectorate. In defense of his contention, he cited the Amharic text of the treaty which, when translated, declared that the King might *if he desired* avail himself of the aid of the Italian government for any negotiations with other powers. The Italian text of the treaty, however, declared that the King "consents to avail himself of the Italian Government for any such negotiations. . . ." Here was a difference in treaty texts which under an ideal international system should have been arbitrated. But Italy did not wish to adjudicate the matter, and when Menelik, backed by French and Russian intrigue, refused to acquiesce in the protectorate, Italy declared war, in 1896. Exasperated by failure to win a decisive victory, Crispi telegraphed to General Baratieri that "this is a military phthisis, not war . . . a waste of heroism, without any corresponding success. . . . We are ready for any sacrifice in order to save the honor of the army and the prestige of the Monarchy." Believing that Rome wished action, Baratieri attacked the Ethiopians at Adowa on March 1, only to receive an overwhelming defeat. As a result Crispi was overthrown by his parliament at home and the Ethiopian campaign was abandoned. Dr. Work declares, "Thus Italy, having depended too much upon active military support from the other members of the triple alliance and England, found herself ill prepared to face alone the determined will to independence of Menelik and his warriors, supported by the French government, French munition makers, and individual Russians."

The next act in this drama was played by France, which conceived the vision of establishing a great empire in North Africa linking Jibuti and the Congo. Had this plan succeeded, France would have occupied the whole of Ethiopia and the Sudan. As part of this plan, France secured a concession from Menelik to build a railway from Jibuti to the White Nile, and in 1897 Menelik entered into an alliance with France which provided that Ethiopia should extend to the Nile, thus encroaching on the British sphere, and that France and Ethiopia should coöperate in commerce, public works and diplomacy.

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Great Britain warned that such advances into a territory where British claims existed would be regarded as an unfriendly act. Kitchener applied this doctrine when he met Marchand at Fashoda in 1898. Marchand gave way, partly because the Ethiopian columns had failed to arrive. Marchand returned home via Ethiopia, following which France withdrew from this part of the world. In 1899 France and England delimited their respective spheres in Africa, and in May 1902 England drove home the withdrawal both of France and Italy by concluding an agreement with Ethiopia, in which the latter power renounced its claims to the Nile and agreed to safeguard Britain's interests in its headwaters. Subsequently England proposed the internationalization of the Ethiopian Railroad. Although France rejected this request, it did consent to the appointment of an Englishman, an Italian and an Ethiopian upon the board of control. This and other matters formed the subject of the tripartite convention of 1906.

This volume is extremely weak in its discussion of events since 1906; it also ignores a vast amount of material dealing with the people and country of Ethiopia, such as the works of Marcel Griaule. Although for the most part easy to read, it is marred by many defective sentences, and the maps are poor. Nevertheless, any reader of this interesting volume will be amply repaid.

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

Government and Business. By FORD P. HALL. New York and London, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934.—x, 275 pp. $2.50.

Government in Business. By STUART CHASE. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1935.—296 pp. $2.00.

The titles of these two books are practically identical. There the similarity ceases. Mr. Hall approaches the topic as a central problem in governmental organization and administration. Mr. Chase attacks the subject on both its flanks—economic and emotional. Mr. Hall's presentation is scholarly, precise, objective and unbiased. His book is replete with source footnotes and references. Mr. Chase displays all the literary arts of the publicist and his style is colorful not to say impassioned.

Professor Hall introduces his book with a very brief summary of the three principal systems of theory concerning the relation be-

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tween a government and the economic activities of its citizens—individualism, collectivism and socialism. In succeeding chapters the constitutional limitations upon government control of business are matched against the principal specific grant of such power—the commerce clause of the Federal Constitution. Such control is found to be of nine types: (1) investigations and reports, (2) restrictions on entry into business, (3) fixing of prices and rates, (4) regulation of services and quality, (5) prevention of discrimination, (6) outlawing of monopoly and restraint of trade, (7) elimination of unfair methods of trading, (8) governmental aid to business, (9) government ownership and operation. The machinery for control is briefly discussed.

The remainder of the book is largely made up of a series of outlines in some detail of the regulatory machinery and activities used in applying these types of regulation to each of the several fields of business which have been the subjects of governmental control. This includes the details of regulating the railroads, motor busses and trucks, aviation, public utilities, banking, insurance companies, food and drugs, packers, stockyards and grain exchanges, and the issuance and sale of securities. Chapters are also devoted to the anti-trust laws, the Federal Trade Commission, the codes under the National Industrial Recovery Act, as well as to the use of the taxing power for regulatory purposes, the aid afforded to business through the protection of patents, copyrights, and trade-marks and the maintenance of rules governing bankruptcy. Final chapters are devoted to the several types of public aid to business and to the examples of government ownership and operation which have been developed in the United States.

Mr. Hall's book should be a very valuable reference for students of economics and political science who wish to find within a fairly small compass a complete presentation of the facts concerning the relation between government and business as that relationship has been worked out in the United States. The book might have been more valuable had Mr. Hall attempted rather more analysis and criticism of the matters he describes.

Mr. Chase's book does not suffer from this defect. The author's opinions and estimates and prophecies are sprinkled liberally throughout. In the last 136 pages of the book the personal pronoun is used in the nominative case a total of 176 times—1.3 such usages per page. One may surmise that this pronominal preference may be the result of a lack of grammatical alternatives when one reads

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on page 159 that "In my state *one* must take out a license to go fishing and wear a badge prominently displayed as *he* casts *his* line" (italics mine).

Stephen Leacock is reported to have complained that when he spoke as an economist the humorists were loud in praise and when he appeared as a humorist the economists were enthusiastic in applause. This statement can not be paraphrased to fit Mr. Chase in his double rôle of economist and journalist. The journalists must undoubtedly admire this as a splendidly wrought bit of journalistic work.

The book is marred by numerous erroneous or at least questionable statements of fact. A few examples may illustrate.

Page 64. "Sales by cooperative societies in the United States in 1934 were estimated at $365,000,000 or about one and one fifth per cent of total retail business." In 1933 the Census of Distribution reported that the total annual sales by such concerns were $116,995,000 or only 0.24% of total retail sales. Authority should be cited for an estimate involving such phenomenal growth.

Page 65. "There are now 1500 oil and petroleum units in the Middle West—cooperative gas stations." In 1933 the Census found only 1709 coöperative retail stores of all types in the entire United States. Of these less than 139 were filling stations—the precise number is impossible to discover. Again one desires the authority for an estimate indicating such phenomenal growth.

Page 111. "Dr. Gardiner C. Means is a professor of economics." Mr. Means is a Master of Arts and unfortunately for students of economics is an Associate in Law on the faculty of the School of Law in Columbia University instead of being a member of the economics faculty of that institution.

Page 110. "Mr. Frederick Ackerman is particularly concerned with the time factor in economic dynamics—a factor generally neglected by the faculty." Again on page 116, "Messrs. Jones and Ackerman have introduced the time factor into economics." This is in spite of the fact that there has existed for years a group of students of economics known as "mathematical economists", one of whose principal playthings has been the time series.

Page 121. Political scientists will undoubtedly be intrigued by this naïve definition of the Supreme Court's "rule of reason": "The injury permitted to a business man is such an injury as 'reasonably' arises in a 'reasonable' pursuit of 'reasonable' purposes."

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Page 122. "Congress has been given the power to interfere with private enterprise in taxation and in interstate and foreign commerce." Apparently the Supreme Court was not aware of this very sweeping grant when it rendered the second child labor decision and the recent A A A decision.

Page 123. "The power of the state to fix prices was first used in the case of Chicago grain elevator rates in 1877. It was promptly challenged as a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. In Munn vs. Illinois a divided Supreme Court upheld the state." This case was decided in 1876, a year before Mr. Chase says the law was passed. In his decision Mr. Chief Justice Waite said, "It has been customary in England from time immemorial and in this country from its first colonization to regulate ferries, common carriers, hackmen, bakers, millers, wharfingers, innkeepers, etc., and in so doing to fix a maximum of charge to be made for services rendered, accommodations furnished, and articles sold. To this day statutes are to be found in many of the states upon some or all of these subjects."

Many more such examples could be cited. None of them involves facts which are vital to Mr. Chase's thesis but they tend to cast doubt upon all the author's citations of facts which are unaccompanied by specific references to authority. There are many such undocumented citations throughout the book, although Mr. Chase includes numerous source references.

Mr. Chase's thesis may be reduced to the following propositions:

1. Government regulation of and participation in business—collectivism—have been increasing throughout the world, and with especial rapidity in the United States during the past five years.

2. Six separate students—A. H. Adams, A. A. Berle, Walter Rautenstrauch, D. C. Coyle, Bassett Jones, G. C. Means—each using a different method of analysis and following a different avenue of approach, all come to conclusions which pretty definitely indicate the decay of capitalism as we know it.

3. It is possible to establish a budget of the goods and services which society needs to enable its members to live in reasonable comfort and security. It is possible for our industry to produce these goods. The items in the list may be divided into three categories: (a) consumers' goods which are survival necessities, (b) materials and services which are essential in procuring (a), (c) luxuries and luxurious services.

4. We are practically at the point where the state must take over those economic activities involved in supplying those items in (a)

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and (b), leaving (c) to private enterprise. This is because of (1) the tremendous losses now being sustained by private industry in this field, (2) the imperative need to conserve our wasting natural resources, (3) the breakdown of regulation as we have practised it.

5. There are successful working models both here and abroad upon which a system of public ownership and operation may be set up.

6. Human nature can be so changed as to adapt itself to the program. Mr. Chase seems rather to lack effectiveness in his treatment of this thesis. He could have made out a much more effective case for the proposition that a collectivist form of organization can make use of the same fundamental human emotions and incentives which underlie the profit motive and make it a mainspring of our present system.

One can have only admiration for and envy of Mr. Chase's literary style. He marshals his arguments in masterly fashion. His sentences have a propulsive power which almost serves to lift the reader from his chair and to start him on the march to Washington to do something about it. One might wish that Mr. Chase could combine with these splendid qualities a rather more rigid adherence to precise facts. Absolute accuracy of statement is not essentially incompatible with literary excellence.

Since we can not escape the pronouncements of the Liberty League and the Crusaders we are indeed fortunate that we have someone with the ability of Mr. Chase to present for us the other side of the picture.

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Commercial Banks 1929-1934. Geneva, Economic Intelligence Service, League of Nations, 1935.—213 pp. $2.50.

The memorandum of the League of Nations entitled *Commercial Banks,* published three years ago, was widely read and widely valued as the most useful and available publication of its kind which had then been issued. It furnished a complete and authoritative statement of the situation in each of the major countries of the world, as well as in several others, regarding the development of commercial banks and the status of commercial banking portfolios. The League now issues a second volume in this field, but it is one to which has been given a much broader scope than that of its predecessor. Whereas the earlier volume dealt chiefly with commer-

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cial banking, the new volume, especially in its Introduction, undertakes to cover a wider field. As Director Loveday, the head of the Financial Section of the League of Nations, remarks, " It is not confined to commercial banking but deals with general monetary developments, with currency statistics, with central banking, exchange rates, price movements, interest rates and the production, distribution and redistribution of gold ". All of these topics have been dealt with in earlier years in special memoranda issued by the League, but in the new publication the currency problems are approached through the avenue of commercial banking chiefly.

With this alteration of scope the present volume undertakes a much larger task than did the earlier work not merely as regards the data studied but also as concerns type of analysis. Its Introduction is an essay of some ninety pages upon the entire monetary and banking situation as viewed from the central banking standpoint. The book then turns to the commercial banking side of the situation, continuing its earlier line of inquiry, and affords an up-to-date sketch of banking portfolios in each of the various countries. The American reader will find every one of these monographs of value if the lines of his studies or the needs of his research direct him to the financial and banking conditions in given states. The general student will find his attention chiefly arrested by the Introduction, since it is there that the monetary and banking situation is dealt with from a world standpoint.

Generally speaking, the treatment of the central banking situation is descriptive and without critical observations, the value of the discussion lying entirely in its assembling of data in an authentic form, carefully condensed and free of excess material, but accompanied by extensive statistics reduced to a comparative basis, so that intensive analysis on the part of the reader is entirely possible without the extended search through the more or less fragmentary reports of foreign banks on which he must otherwise rely. The writing is clear-cut and interesting and the analysis is particularly significant in its discussion of open-market operations in the various countries. It should be a great help to the definite understanding of contemporary problems in money and central banking. This introductory essay is divided into a few major heads including, for example, legislation, currency composition, cash ratios, bond portfolios, and various others. Well-chosen diagrams are inserted from time to time for the purpose of illustrating significant trends in banking portfolios. These are particularly interesting in the section headed

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"Commercial Bank Credits and Investments", as well as in that entitled "Central Bank Assets".

Criticism is largely out of place, certainly ungracious, in connection with a work which has involved so much careful and laborious investigation as this one. Yet, the writer may be allowed to express a regret that throughout the Introduction the word "money" is used in the very wide sense of "means of payment", thus including not only notes and coin but also sight deposits with commercial banks. The items thus included are not money, and to reckon them in as money is like the author who is said to have begun his algebra with the statement that "in this work the signs plus and minus will be regarded as identical". Some other usages that have found a place in ultra-"modern" monetary discussions during the past two or three years are, likewise, to be regretted. The student must be carefully on his guard against misunderstandings resulting from them.

As already remarked, there is little interpretation in the discussion, but here and there some is unavoidable, and it is not always of a nature with which the student can agree. Thus, for example, in various places the falling-off of the business of commercial banking is ascribed to a variety of reasons, but the general explanation for failure of commercial loans to grow is stated as being "that business itself financed recovery out of accumulated funds". In the United States the fact that the government went into the banking business and took over a large part of the task of satisfying demand for bank credit is the factor of "overriding importance", but is not duly appraised as such. In the section relating to the United States, moreover, the monograph accepts the classification now popular in Washington of "licensed and non-licensed" banks, but the significance of this classification is not made altogether clear; neither, it is to be feared, will the foreign reader understand the relationship of the reclassification as "member and non-member" with the grouping of licensed and non-licensed banks. It should be added that, to make these groupings altogether obvious, and to remodel the figures furnished by our government in accordance therewith, would be a matter of great difficulty for anyone.

These, and others like them, are relatively minor faults. The study as a whole is one of very genuine and great value to the student of banking; indeed, to the student of finance and business in general. It assembles a large body of data and weaves the facts, on the whole, skillfully, together in an intelligible pattern.

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